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# PHARMACEUTICAL HISTORIAN

Newsletter of the  
BRITISH SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF PHARMACY

17 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1

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A Message from the President

## Non omnia possumus omnes

We are not all capable of everything, as Virgil continues to remind us, but pharmacists are interested in the history of their ancient profession and there is already evidence of the capabilities of some of them as historians. To foster this interest and to give full opportunity to its expression, the British Society for the History of Pharmacy was inaugurated at a meeting in London on June 14 this year.

A committee of the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society had been functioning quite effectively since 1952, and much useful work had been accomplished. The committee had examined a great deal of interesting historical material, one or two exhibitions had been staged, and a number of newsletters published. The committee felt, however, that to make real progress a new organisation should be formed that could embrace every one interested in the subject. This proposal received the full backing of the Pharmaceutical Society's Council, and a number of committee meetings were held to draft a constitution and plan future policies. These were approved at the inaugural meeting, and we are grateful to the Pharmaceutical Society for its financial support, together with the offer of secretarial facilities and use of the Society's house at 17 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.

At an early meeting of your newly elected committee it was agreed to sponsor two publications: a bulletin, *Pharmaceutical Historian*, which will carry news of a general character, items of informa-

tion and short articles; the other, more scholarly, for the publication of original research papers. The committee is anxious to encourage members intent on serious study, and will gladly offer advice and suggestions. It is hoped to publish *Pharmaceutical Historian* three or four times a year. Because of its specialised nature the other journal will probably be annual and the first volume available in late 1968. This will depend upon the receipt of suitable material. May I make a plea to those of our members already engaged on historical research projects to offer their material for publication in the journal of their own Society. Only in this way will its status be advanced and its future assured.

Our inaugural lecture is being delivered at 17 Bloomsbury Square on Wednesday, October 11, at 7 p.m. by Dr. Marie Boas Hall on 'Apothecaries and Chemists of the 17th Century'. Dr. Hall is reader in the history of science and technology at Imperial College, London, and we are most fortunate in securing this distinguished historian to speak at our first meeting. I trust there will be a good attendance to hear her.

Many of our members are scattered throughout the country in quite small groups, and it is the policy of our Society to hold provincial meetings to encourage the study of history at local level. The committee regards this aspect of its work as extremely important, and would be glad to hear from members who are willing to organise such meetings in their own areas. The first of our provin-

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cial meetings will take place at Winchester on Sunday, November 5, and a very interesting programme is being planned by Mr. W.H. Boorman. We shall gain valuable experience in organising day conferences from this initial venture, and I hope many in the southern region will lend their support by attending.

I am happy to report that our membership is steadily increasing and that we have enrolled some

overseas members. This is most encouraging. The strength of our Society will, however, never be measured in numbers, but in the contributions which we make individually to the advancement of knowledge of the history of our calling. I am confident that as time passes we shall grow in stature and take our place alongside the other international organisations dedicated to the same purpose.

J.C. Bloomfield

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## The City of York's First Spicers, Grocers and Apothecaries

Leslie G. Matthews

Two published sources are available – The Register of the Freemen of York, Vol.I, 1272-1558, (Ed. F.Collins), Surtees Society, 1897, and The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York (Ed. R.F. Skaife), Surtees Society, 1872. The Register of Freemen is the more useful since it begins in 1272 but the Register of the Guild is helpful as the notes added by its editor, Robert Skaife, give details not readily available elsewhere.

The Guild was founded in 1408, and each year up to 1547, when it was suppressed by the Act of Dissolution, it admitted new members, the number varying from 12 to 50, occasionally 120. Altogether in 150 years there were 16,850 persons admitted. Priests, lay brothers, well placed merchants, and artisans, all sought to be enrolled. Women members were accepted, frequently husband and wife at the same time. In 1478 the Guild took over the Hospital of St. Thomas of Canterbury, a hospital for the poor, in which brethren and sisters resided. The hospital continued a separate existence until 1576 when it passed under the control of the mayor and commonalty of the city of York; it was finally taken down in 1862. When the Commissioners appointed under the Statute of 1546 made an inventory of the 'Juells', etc. belonging to the Guild the value of the Corpus Christi shrine, the gold and silver ornaments, etc. came to £210.18s.2d., the shrine alone being valued at £120.

In the Register of Freemen are the following names of spicers from 1272 to 1300

- 1272 John le Speeer was mayor. He served again from 1301–3.
- 1295 Hugo de Snayth
- 1296 Johannis le paternoster, de Paris
- 1299 Robertus de Driffeld

1300 Willelmus Routcliff  
1383–9 Alanus Marre

During the 14th century the number of spicers admitted as freemen totalled 71, the numbers for each quarter being 14, 16, 20, 21. Approximately 1 per cent of all freemen were spicers. The first woman spicer admitted was Margareta Steyniour, in 1387. There is no indication that she was a widow carrying on her husband's business.

The 15th century saw many changes in the occupations named. Among them, the description 'grocer' was beginning to replace 'spicer'. The number of spicers who were enrolled as freemen during the four quarters of the century were 16, 12, 8, 3. This is not surprising as the grocers were then broadening the variety of wares formerly handled by the spicers. The first recorded grocer was Richard Beche, 1403, but there was only one more up to 1450. By the last quarter of the century 14 grocers had been enrolled as freemen. Occasionally a spicer is also noted as a grocer. The last entry of a spicer as a freeman appears to be John Thomlynson, 1509, who is later referred to as a grocer. One of Thomlynson's sons became a grocer, the other an apothecary, whose own son followed his father as apothecary. About 1450 the 'de' in names began to be discontinued, e.g. Richard de Kirkeby becomes plain Richard Kirkeby. Both spicers and grocers were called upon to serve high offices in York, some became mayors or lord mayors (the brother of Roger de Selby, a spicer, was the first lord mayor of York), city chamberlains or sheriffs.

The earliest apothecaries named are those in the Guild records. Richard Vendard and John Browneflete in 1423–4, and in 1441–2 William Roghschaw (or Rowkshaw) were apothecaries who joined the Guild. George Essex, 1465–6, was both

	Canterbury <sup>3</sup>	Leicester <sup>5</sup>	Norwich <sup>6</sup>	York <sup>7</sup>
Spicers, first mention	1304–5	1237	1218	1332
Grocers,	mid-15th century	mid-15th century	mid-15th century	generally – last quarter 15th century (first mention, 1403)
Apothecaries first mention	1427	1526	1455	1423–4
generally	1491 onwards	mid-16th century	1539 onwards	1470 onwards

apothecary and grocer. Rowkshaw was city chamberlain in 1494, sheriff 1500–1, and lord mayor in 1509. Three apothecaries became freemen between 1470–3 – William Hanekok (or Hancock), potecarious; Richard Michell, potecary; and the George Essex mentioned above. (One Robertus, Ipotecarious de Eboraco (York) had been enrolled among the freemen of Leicester as early as 1324–5.)<sup>1</sup>

From 1411 to 1422 five 'triacleers' or 'treacleers', one of whom was also a tuthdragher, come into the list. These may have been early apothecaries who dealt in drugs, and particularly in the Theriaci. (In Canterbury the name of John Chapman, triacleman, recurs from 1428 to 1436–7 as a person paying an annual fee to live and trade there.<sup>2</sup> Two treacle-mongers are mentioned in London in the reign of Henry V (1413–1422) – William Norwich of London and William Kirton of Westminster.<sup>3</sup> Both A.C. Wootton and G. Watson in their respective accounts of Theriac refer to its use in Roman times and to its continuance in ever-varying formulae down to the 17th century.<sup>4</sup> The Crusaders became familiar with this kind of composite preparation through Arab pharmacy, and the Paston Letters (temp. Edward IV, 1461–83) mention treacle pottes of Geane (Genoa) as my poticarie swerythe on to me...'

The list of freemen records apprenticeships from 1481, the apprentice or his parent paying small sums to the city officers for registration. Many young men followed their fathers' calling and they could obtain their freedom by patrimony if their fathers were freemen.

In the first half of the 16th century – Vol.I of the Register of Freemen ends in 1558 – there were still more grocers (12) than apothecaries (3) entered as freemen. It is of interest to compare the changes from spicer, to grocer, and to apothecary in four cities widely spaced in England; (see above).

1. Bateson, Mary. Records of the Borough of Leicester. (Revised by Stocks and Stevenson.) London, 1899, vol.I, pp. 1,61, 92, 357.
2. Matthews, Leslie G. "Spicers and Apothecaries in the City of Canterbury". *Med. Hist.* 1965, IX.No.3, 289-91.
3. Calendar of Close Rolls, 1413–19, p.63; 1419–22, p.130.
4. Wootton, A.C. *Chronicles of Pharmacy*, London, 1910, vol.II, pp.42–50; Watson, G. *Theriac and Mithridatium*. London, 1966. Watson records that Henry V himself had a 'triacle box', and that Mrs. Paston, writing in 1451, prays her husband to 'send a pot with treacle in haste' (p.118).
5. Matthews, Leslie G. "Byways of Pharmaceutical History". *Pharm.J.* 1963, 191, 629–31.
6. Matthews, Leslie G. "The Spicers and Apothecaries of Norwich". *Pharm.J.* 1967, 198, 5–9.
7. See text above.

## WINCHESTER, NOVEMBER 5

On Sunday, November 5, our Society will hold its first out-of-London meeting. It will take place in the post-graduate medical centre in Winchester. Fuller details will be published later.

## COMMITTEE AND OFFICERS

The inaugural meeting of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy held on June 14 at the house of the Pharmaceutical Society, 17 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1, has been fully reported in *The Pharmaceutical Journal* of June 24, 1967 (pp. 698 and 699). The following were elected as committee members: Messrs J. C. Bloomfield, J.K. Crellin, C.G. Drummond, Dr M.P. Earles, Messrs N. Herdman, L.G. Matthews, Mrs A. Lothian Short, Professor G.E. Trease and Dr T.D. Whittet. The following officers were appointed: President, Mr J.C. Bloomfield; vice-president, Professor G.E. Trease; Honorary secretary, Mr. J.K. Crellin; honorary treasurer, Mr. L.G. Matthews.

# Pharmacy in Stamford a century ago

Rosemary Ellis

Just over a century ago a Lincolnshire directory contained the following description: 'Stamford is an ancient parliamentary and municipal borough, market-town, and railway station, of considerable agricultural importance, pleasantly situated in a vale on the borders of Northamptonshire and Rutland, and only separated from the former by the river Welland, which flows on the South side of the town. It contained in 1851, a population of 9,065; the acreage is about 4,000. The town is governed by the corporation consisting of mayor, 6 aldermen and 18 common councillors, and retains the privilege of sending 2 members to parliament. Containing 6 parish churches, and many other interesting structures, of ancient as well as modern date, Stamford partakes much of the character of a cathedral town. The market, held on Friday, is well attended, and abundantly supplied with cattle, corn, poultry and provisions. An extensive trade is carried on here in corn, coal, malting, timber etc. There is a large iron foundry, a soapmaker's and bone-crusher's, breweries, and corn-mills, all of which are in good work.'<sup>1</sup>

Contemporary directories also give a comprehensive record of the number and location of chemists' businesses in the town. In 1863,<sup>2</sup> ten persons were listed as carrying on the business of chemist, druggist, or chemist and druggist, four of these being in the High Street, one was a wholesale druggist, and one even styled himself as 'chemist and dentist'.

Of the chemists' shops still in existence

**EDITOR'S NOTE.** The author, Miss Rosemary Ellis, now practising at Leicester Royal Infirmary, wrote this essay in 1965, while a third-year diploma student at Leicester Regional College of Technology. The essay was undertaken as a contribution to the historical section of the diploma course and with little or no experience in historical investigation. The work is based on original sources. Illustrations in the original manuscript, which included reproductions of advertisements and entries in ledgers, have been omitted from this present publication. A photocopy of the original manuscript has been deposited in the library of the Pharmaceutical Society.

today, the longest established appears to be that now carried on by Mr. Johnson in Red Lion Square. In the mid 19th century, the Square was the centre of the town, and would therefore be a very desirable situation for a business. The Great North Road, or famous Ermine Street, ran right through the Square, and Stamford was a popular stopping place for the coaches, being the half-way stage between London and York. Many fairs were held there, including that of SS. Simon and Jude. This attracted buyers from miles around and necessitated the boarding up of shop windows to save them from damage by the horses, sheep and cattle offered for sale in the streets. The pillory stood on one side of the Square, and an 1855 directory<sup>3</sup> stated that 'The South Eastern side of the Red Lion Square has been razed to the ground and rebuilt with large handsome houses with shops; they are in the Tudor style of architecture.'

The chemist's business was started in 1720 by a Solomon Woodroffe, to whom a large and impressive memorial tablet can be seen over the South Porch in St. John's Church, which stands only about 50 yards from his shop premises. The tablet reads:-

To the  
Memory of  
SOLOMON WOODROFFE  
Late  
Druggist of this Town  
Who died  
The 30th of October  
1769.

The shop apparently stayed in the same family for some 133 years. Thomas Woodroffe, Druggist, appears in the Poll Book of 1809, and Robert Woodroffe, Chemist and Druggist, in a directory of 1842.<sup>4</sup> In 1846 Robert Woodroffe had two apprentices registered with the newly-formed Pharmaceutical Society, but his own name does not appear in the List of Members of the Society.<sup>5</sup>

By 1852, the business had passed into the hands of George Patterson. He was obviously one of the more enterprising chemists in the town at that time. He became a member of the Pharmaceutical Society in 1853, and presumably remained a member until his death, which indicated that he was interested in promoting the professional aspect of pharmacy. From 1865, he served as the Local Secretary for Stamford,<sup>6</sup> the town qualifying for this by virtue of

the fact that it returned at least one member to Parliament, although at that time George Patterson was the only registered member in the town. The Journals also record an annual subscription of 10s.6d. from Patterson to the Benevolent Fund.

## STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

Patterson's public-spirited nature is reflected in the way he took an active interest in the civic affairs of the town. In November 1856 he stood as a member of the Council of the Borough of Stamford for All Saints' Ward under Conservative colours, and was elected – just getting sufficient votes to squeeze in last place.<sup>7</sup> He was directly elected to serve on the Finance Committee. Mr. Patterson was Mayor of the Borough from November 1866 to November 1867.<sup>8</sup> From a report in the local newspaper<sup>9</sup> of his election, it seems that things did not run too smoothly. In his inaugural speech he was reported as saying that 'One could not expect to pass through a contest like the one which had recently taken place without leaving some little bitterness of feeling. Still he hoped and trusted that now it was all over, and they had got what they wanted, those little differences would be forgotten and buried in the past.' On his retirement from office, he gave a municipal banquet at his home in Red Lion Square, 'A majority of the members of the Corporation were present and there were among the friends several friends from town and country.'<sup>10</sup>

Local newspaper reports show that most of the chemists were involved in the life of the town in some way – either through the Council, various societies, or the Church. During the period when Patterson was serving on the Town Council, two other chemists were also active in this sphere. Frederick Dickinson was a Councillor for All Saints' Ward, while Mr. H.A. Higgins represented St. Mary's Ward. James Althorp was an alderman of the town and a member of the Pharmaceutical Society from 1846 to 1860. Frederick March was a chemist and druggist in High Street (now Boots the Chemists). On his death in 1891, an obituary<sup>11</sup> said that March had never been an aspirant for municipal honours, yet he held office of parochial trustee at St. John's Church for several years with great credit. March was a Founder Member of the Pharmaceutical Society,<sup>12</sup> but his membership then appears to have lapsed until registration became compulsory in 1868.

Another chemist prominent in the civic life of the town at that time was Henry Charles Handson, a magistrate and alderman of the town. He practised pharmacy in Ironmonger Street, but does not appear to have been a member of the Pharmaceutical

Society, as might have been expected. It is probable, though, that he was associated with the Society of Apothecaries, as, after his death, the business was known as 'Apothecaries' Hall'. This seems unusual however, since he was a wholesale as well as a retail druggist, and the wholesalers tended to develop from the more enterprising chemists, while the apothecaries usually turned to medicine. A blank billhead for the 1870's shows an elaborate trade mark featuring an elephant. The elephant was probably used because, after Mr. Handson's death, the proprietor was an Indian gentleman, Mr. Ockamatuty. The 'registered trade mark' on the billhead presumably indicated that proprietary articles were manufactured there, and this assumption is borne out by advertisements appearing in local newspapers.

## WHOLESALE TRADING

A glimpse into the trading activities of wholesale drug merchants and chemists may be had from an Account Book which has now been donated to the Stamford Museum. The ledger belonged to a William Kenney, maltster, grocer, and chemist of Morton, near Bourn, some 12 miles from Stamford. Three Stamford chemists appear to have traded with Kenney, namely, Mr. Handson, who was one of his best customers; a druggist, drysalter, oil and seed merchant named George Wilson of St. Mary's Street; and another druggist, J.R. Dalton, High Street. It seems strange that Stamford chemists should have drawn their supplies from a small, out-of-the-way place on the edge of the Fens, like Morton, yet the accounts show that Kenney sold his wares as far afield as London, Nottingham, Hull, Leicester and Newark, besides having a flourishing trade in the surrounding district.

The ledger was started in 1840 and completely filled by 1876, and from it one can gain information about the drugs in common use and also the prevailing prices. Most of the accounts in the book were receipted with a penny stamp which was then over-signed and dated, but the receipt was not handed on, and it looks as though, in the early days of the Stamp Duty, the chief concern was to show that the duty had been paid, rather than for the purchaser to hold the receipt as proof that the account had been settled. This was apparently quite customary practice.

At the end of the book is a neatly-written 'Table of Oil Weights and Measures'. There is a note at the top of the page to the effect that:

'Olive, Rape, Seal, Whale, Linseed vary in weight from 8 lbs.10 oz. to 9 lbs.6 oz. But in

Retail trade it is customary to buy and sell at 9 lbs. to the Gallon or one pound for a pint, and one oz. for the 1/16th of a pint or pound. It requires 25% profit in Retail trade to cover waste Corks, credit, and time; 3d on the wholesale price.'

Below this there is a home-made ready reckoner giving the retail prices against the corresponding wholesale prices. For example,

2/6 per gall. is 2/1½ Retail

Another book which belonged to Kenney is a Poisons Register dating from the passing of the Pharmacy Act in 1868. Although this is probably not unique, it is hardly likely that many such books have survived from the very beginning of poisons control. In the main, the entries are for arsenic as a wheat dressing, various vermin killers, and oxalic acid used for removing stains from linen.

## INFLUENCE OF AGRICULTURE

Stamford became involved in the Wool Trade in the Middle Ages and there developed in the district an arable type of farming based on sheep husbandry, which has persisted until recent times. A large number of horses were needed to work the land and these, together with the sheep, provided a useful trade for the chemist in animal medicines, and this is reflected in the drugs and chemicals listed in the Account Book. Some of the old shepherds prided themselves that they could do without veterinary help and had their own pet remedies for the ailments in their flocks. No doubt when visiting Stamford on market day they would replenish their stocks of medicaments.

The favourite method of administering horse-medicines was in the form of balls. The powdered ingredients were formed into an adhesive mass with an oil resin or syrup in much the same way as pills. They weighed anything up to 2 oz. and were up to 1 inch in diameter and 3 inches in length. Red Precipitate and Corrosive Sublimate were applied to warty growths. Verdigris when boiled with honey and vinegar constituted the farriers' 'Egyptiacum', said to be of benefit in cankered or ulcerated mouth. Whale Oil was recommended to 'soften and toughen the hoofs extremely, when brushed over them night and morning. Red Ochre was commonly used for marking sheep, and arsenic was often the main ingredient of sheep dips to keep the skin of the sheep free from vermin.

According to an advertisement in a local compendium of 1863, Mr. Handson specialised in veterinary preparations:-

To Agriculturists  
H.C. Handson & Son.

Beg to call attention to the superior quality of Sheep Ointment manufactured by the aid of improved machinery and Steam Power. It may be relied upon to cure the most inveterate Scab, being of full strength and made of finest ingredients.

Foot-Halt Ointment, a certain cure for that Disease. Horse and Cattle Medicines of every description.

Agent for Stamford and Neighbourhood for the  
Patent Sanitary Manure Company's  
Superphosphate and Blood Manures.  
Ironmonger Street, Stamford.

## ADVERTISING

The sale of nostrums, besides being carried on by those specialising in drugs, seems to have formed a considerable side-line for the newsagents. Henry Johnson, in premises at the corner of St. Mary's Hill and St. Mary's Street, described himself as Book, Music, and Print Seller, Stationer, Printer, Paperhanger, Bookbinder and Newsagent. He published a Household Almanack in 1864, in which year, incidentally, he was Deputy Mayor. The Almanack sold for one penny and between the pages giving a brief list of the town's officials and amenities, the usual hints for housewives and snippets of information, appeared a large number of advertisements for proprietary medicines, many of nation-wide repute. The famous Holloway's Pills were recommended as 'the best remedy known in the world' for some thirty-five listed diseases which bore no apparent relationship to each other. A footnote assures the prospective customer that directions for his guidance were affixed to each box and could be had in any language, even in Chinese.

It also contained extravagant claims such as 'The Marvellous Curative Properties of Harper Twelvtree's Virginian Gum' are hailed as 'an exciting intense astonishment in every section of the civilised globe. It is working wonders everywhere; the weak are strengthened; the wounded are healed; the lame walk, laying aside their sticks and crutches, and thousands are gratefully sounding its praise. Sold in Pots at 7½d and 1/1½d.'

A similar almanack was published by W.R. Newcomb, who was also a patent medicine dealer and printer. He was associated with the Stamford and Rutland Mercury, reputed to be the oldest provincial newspaper in the country. This contained much the same advertisements, and also two advertisements for nostrums prepared by Stamford Chemists. One of these for H.C. Handson has already been referred to. The following is a

full-page advertisement:-

J.E. DENNIS  
Chemist  
High Street, Stamford.

Gratefully thanks his Friends for their continued & increasing patronage and assures them that his utmost efforts shall be used to retain their confidence by supplying them only with articles of the finest quality, and by the exercise of strict care in dispensing Prescriptions & other Recipes.

#### Sergeants' Vegetable Essence.

This Essence has stood the test of many years and has been found the most useful and effectual remedy for Coughs, Asthma, Wheezing, and Hoarseness, Difficulty of Breathing, and all disorders of the Chest and the Chest and Lungs.

Prepared only by J.E. Dennis, Stamford.

#### HOMOEOPATHIC MEDICINE

In addition to the conventional medical treatment given by the resident physicians and chemists, the inhabitants were offered treatment by Homoeopathy which seemed much in vogue at that time. A newspaper advertisement<sup>15</sup> announced that a visiting Homoeopath from Peterborough was in attendance at Mr. R. Oldhams in the High Street on Tuesdays and Fridays from 1-15 to 2-30 p.m. Each patient had to pay a shilling a time for a Subscriber's Ticket. These tickets could be obtained at 12 for a guinea and each ticket entitled the holder to advice for one month. 'A duly qualified physician and surgeon' was said to prescribe.

#### PRESCRIPTION BOOKS

The present owner of the business in Red Lion Square has in his possession two prescription books, belonging to the late Mr. George Patterson, and dated 1852 to 1866, and 1866 to 1877. The earlier one in particular is in excellent condition and, on the fly leaf, bears the name 'Patterson', while inside the back cover are recorded the names of two of his apprentices:-

W.E. Watson, Spalding  
From Febr. 6th '52.  
To Nov. 1 '56.

T. Limb.  
From Dec. 1/63.  
To Jan. 1/69

Thomas Limb appeared in the List of Registered Apprentices of the Pharmaceutical Society in 1866, the date of registration being given as 1865.<sup>16</sup>

The prescription books were obviously carefully kept, the writing displaying a style and character associated with the quill, which is mostly

lost today to the ballpoint pen. In the front of each book is a complete index of customers with references to their prescriptions. They are interesting, not only for the picture they give of the drugs and preparations prescribed a hundred years ago, but many of the entries have the price entered in the margin beside each item in a simple letter code. Only a hundred or two prescriptions were entered each year, but this appears to have been about the average number received in the provinces from doctors at that time.

The preparations dispensed were in the main vegetable drugs made into pills, powders, mixtures, lotions, liniments and ointments, all, of course, extemporaneously prepared. In general, the preparations show a marked cathartic or aperient nature e.g. pills of rhubarb, aloes or jalap being especially popular. Opium, especially in external applications, appears to have been freely used. There is a noticeable absence of sedatives and soporifics, although there is one prescription for chloral hydrate to be labelled 'The Sedative.'

Another interesting feature of the books is that often when hand-spread plasters were prescribed, the shape was drawn out on the page indicating the required size and width of margin. Belladonna plasters and Cantharides plasters seemed to be the most popular.

Among the prescriptions worthy of mention is one for Whooping Cough; this contained 3 grains of Cochineal and 2 scruples of Salt of Tartar in  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint of water. This was to be boiled for twenty minutes and then three pennyworth of honey added. The prescription cost 1s. Mrs. Twining was Prescribed a Tooth Powder of Charcoal, Orris Root, Cuttlefish Bone and Myrrh. The chemist was not only called upon to supply medical preparations; the Rev. Wingfield of Tickencroft had the following recipe to be labelled 'Boot Varnish'.

R  $\frac{1}{2}$  Pt. Port Wine  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  Pt. Black Japan Ink  
4 oz. Gum Arabic  
2 oz. Sugar Candy  
 $1\frac{1}{2}$  oz. Spirits of Wine

Powder the Gum and Candy Sugar together.

Mr. Patterson appears to have had quite a distinguished clientèle, among them the Marquis of Exeter, who lived at Burghley House, which was built by Sir William Cecil, Lord High Treasurer of England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, and is the family seat of the Cecil family. Burghley House is about one-and-a-half miles south-east of Stamford and the family were well-known benefactors in the

town. In the earlier book there are twenty prescriptions for the Marquis himself, they are mainly bitters or mild laxatives, the most popular being a mixture containing an Extract of Black Lettuce (Ext. Lactuceae) or Extract of Dandelion (Ext. Taraxaci) flavoured usually with Orange Syrup. There are also several prescriptions for an eye lotion of Liq. Ammon. Fort. in Aqua. Flor.

Several names of customers appear regularly throughout the books, notably the Rev. James Twining of Little Casterton. Indeed, the Twining household must have formed one of Patterson's 'good customers'; besides those for the Rev. and Mrs. Twining, there are prescriptions for their children, the nurse, Lady's maid, parlour maid, under-maid, laundry maid, cook and servant boy. Mrs. Twining was frequently supplied with hair applications. The recipe for the following Hair Wash, which cost 3s., is a typical example:-

R Salad Oil	3 oz.
Aromatic Sp. Ammonia	½ oz.
Solvolatile	½ oz.
Tinct. Cantharides	6 drams.
Eau de Cologne	2 oz.
Rose Water	to ½ Pt.
Otto Roses	6 drops.

## SOME CONCLUSIONS

It is interesting to compare the general situation of pharmacy in Stamford as outlined above with the situation a hundred years later. In 1863 there were ten chemists' shops, all of course privately owned. Today there are five pharmacies, only two of which are under private ownership, and this change has been accompanied by an increase in the population of approximately 40 per cent. This is surely a natural result of the mechanisation experienced in all spheres of life, and it is inevitable that the hand-made pill should have given place to the mass-produced tablet. The recipes listed in the Prescription Books suggest that the root of most ailments was the digestive system; nowadays, when the tempo of life is altogether quicker, the emphasis has moved more to the nervous system.

It must be borne in mind that the period covered was a very important one for pharmacy in Britain, since it was between the formation of the Pharmaceutical Society in 1841, when the basis of pharmacy as a profession was laid down, and 1868 when the Society had proved itself sufficiently strong to be given rights as an examining and registering body and also the responsibility of poisons control in the passing of the Pharmacy Act which made membership of the Society compulsory.

A comparative wealth of information is available about the development of pharmacy in London and some of the larger provincial towns, but, although the chemists there may have been the 'trend-setters' of their profession, this does not provide a balanced picture of British pharmaceutical history. If Stamford can be taken as a typical market-town, and this seems a reasonable assumption, then it probably reflects the general pattern of pharmacy seen in many other small market-towns throughout Britain about a century ago.

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# PHARMACEUTICAL HISTORIAN

Newsletter of the  
BRITISH SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF PHARMACY

17 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1

Editor: Nicholas Herdman, F.P.S.

## A very present interest

Dr Earles' article in this issue gives us an insight into the organisation of history of pharmacy in the United States. It may surprise some British pharmacists to learn that the American Institute of the History of Pharmacy celebrated its silver jubilee two years ago, but this emphasises the strength of historical studies in pharmacy (and medicine) in many countries. George Urdang, co-founder of the American Institute, contributed greatly to historical studies in Germany also, and this is partly reflected in the fact that over three quarters of the membership of more than 1200 of the International History of Pharmacy Society is German. That Society has nine personal British members.

Our own new Society, now with a membership of over 125, has had a successful start which augurs well for the future. The next year or so must be a time for encouraging and disseminating interest in the subject, and for showing that the study of its history can make a positive contribution to British pharmacy today and tomorrow. Conferences in Cardiff and Birmingham (see col.2) should do much to help our progress in this direction. Then will come reappraisal: for instance, will the growth of the Society be best fostered by having a permanent office in a School of Pharmacy, or within the organisation of the Pharmaceutical Society? J.K.C.

## DIARY DATES

**CARDIFF CONFERENCE.** March 29–31, 1968. Full details of the meeting should now have been received by members. Speakers include Dr. J. Cule on "Leprosy in Wales", Dr. G. Harries on "17th Century Domestic Medicine", Dr. F. Thomas on "The Redwood and Vachell families", Mr. W.H. Boorman on "Apothecaries and Druggists of 18th Century Winchester", Miss Elsas on "The archives as a source of information", and papers on pharmacy in Cardiff.

**ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.** The annual general meeting of the Society will be held at the Welsh School of Pharmacy, University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology, Cathays Park, Cardiff, at 12.15 p.m. on Saturday, March 30, 1968.

**BRITISH PHARMACEUTICAL CONFERENCE.** Birmingham, Tuesday, September 10, 1968. Symposium on History of Pharmacy. Theme: "Pharmaceutical Technology with special reference to the Birmingham area."

**GUEST LECTURE.** It is hoped that Professor David Cowen, Chairman of the Department of History, Rutgers University, New Jersey, will address the Society this coming spring.

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# Apothecaries' Memorials

Leslie G. Matthews

## Monumental Brasses

If, as Trease<sup>1</sup>, Whittet, and Watson and Lewis have shown, there is much to be learned by a study of the surviving apothecaries' tokens about the places of business and their distribution in the various cities and counties, equally the record of apothecaries' final resting places can not only determine where they lived but can also provide information about their ages and occasionally their character and employment.

From time to time contributors to the Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society have published articles relating to classes of citizens, lawyers, etc., based upon church brasses still to be found in many parish and city churches. So far no-one has attempted to gather together this kind of information about apothecaries who lived during the late medieval and post-medieval periods. The field is wide open, and the recording of them will add much useful knowledge, especially if it stimulates search amongst the local archives for more comprehensive details. This recording is something that does not call for specialised knowledge, though acquaintance with the normal abbreviations used in the Latin forms of memorial will help where Latin is the language used. Many are in English, the inscription usually including the familiar "Pray for the soul of ...", and giving at least the name and date of the person commemorated.

Many of the surviving brasses are now worn or damaged and the recording of them now is therefore of growing importance.

I know of only two 'portrait' brasses to apothecaries in the London area – Richard Babham, d. 1527, Cookham Church, Berkshire, and Cuthbert Blackeden, d. 1540, Thames Ditton, Surrey. Both these were Royal Apothecaries.

Among other apothecaries' brasses noted to date are those of William Hancock, d. 1485, St. Michael, Spurrier Gate Church, York; John Morgan, d. 1658, Abergavenny; and John Glensover, d. 1695, St. George's Church, Doncaster.

## Mural Tablets and Commemorative Windows

There are two other sources of information – the many mural tablets found in churches, abbeys and occasionally in cathedrals throughout the country, and the churchyard tombs, many with elaborate inscriptions. These too may be found to be deteriorating and will need care in deciphering the information.

Another record that would be helpful is that of the stained glass windows commemorating apothecaries or pharmacists. It is true these are few – at present I know of three but there will be others. A window in the City Temple, London, E.C.1. to S.M. Burroughs was shattered during World War II; there is one to Walter Deacon, a past president of the Pharmaceutical Society, in King Street Methodist Church, Bridgwater Somerset; and one to F.J.H. Wrothwell in the parish church Kirby Moorside, near York.

All this information adds interest to a visit even if undertaken for architectural pursuits.

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## Current Work

The Wellcome Historical Medical Library publishes each quarter a list of published papers on the history of pharmacy, medicine and related sciences from a wide variety of sources, and also details of new books on these subjects. 'Current Work' is available gratis on request from the Wellcome Historical Medical Library, Wellcome Building, Euston Road, London N.W.1.

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The Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and Library has recently acquired a glass table water-filter resembling a percolation apparatus. It is 34 cm. high and consists of a conical shaped flask, the top of which is fitted with a tall cylindrical vessel designed to hold the filtering media.

The filter dates from the last quarter of the 19th century when, at the beginning of the bacteriological era, portable water-filters were common. The Museum, which contains three larger pottery filters, one named the Pasteur (Chamberland) Filter, would be pleased to know of the existence of any others. Please contact Hon. Secretary, B.S.H.P.

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# Local History and the Pharmacist

William H. Boorman \*

This is an appeal for more pharmacists to interest themselves in the history of the pharmacies, hospitals and other institutions in which they serve; in this way to make some contribution to knowledge of our profession. "The amateur has a distinct place in the history of pharmacy and," Professor Glenn Sonnedecker says, "we welcome anyone, however he may earn his livelihood, if he will stake out a field of reasonably sound work, strive for competence, and at least recognise his limitations."<sup>1</sup> As historians, most pharmacists will have limitations, lacking knowledge of and skill in the historian's art. Recognising this, at least two members of our committee have submitted themselves to the rigorous discipline of obtaining higher degrees in the history of science. Before this causes too much alarm and despondency in the rank and file of pharmacy, I must confess that I do not believe this to be the only course open to pharmacists interested in the history of pharmacy. A study of the history of science is valuable to the pharmacist only in that he will learn something of the historian's methodology. Were the spicer, the apothecary, the druggist and pharmacist of former times, scientists? Barring a few exceptions, I doubt it.

No one however can deny that these professional ancestors of ours resided in and served a community, in which their successes and failures were shared with their neighbours; as our ancestors, in their turn, shared the health and wealth of the communities in which they lived.<sup>2</sup> It follows, therefore, that I believe the history of pharmacy must be firmly based within a *local* setting of cultural, economic and social history, not only in that of science. On the other hand, because I do not accept a wholly scientific background for pharmacy I do not wish to create the impression that the study of history of pharmacy may be amateurish and unscientific. On the contrary, simply because the information available is usually so fragmentary we must search systematically and use the techniques of

the economic and social historian to unravel the truth.

Similarly, I do not seek to imply that there being few men of science, they did not have an effect on the cultural life of society out of all proportion to their numbers.<sup>3</sup> The eighteenth century had produced a select band of scientists associated with Hampshire, whose contributions to medicine and science extended beyond the confines of county and national boundaries. Men like William Curtis, apothecary and botanist, born at Alton; Gilbert White, the author of the *Natural History of Selborne*; James Lind, whose work at Haslar and elsewhere constituted the first scientifically conducted clinical trials; and Stephen Hales, rector of Farringdon, whose ventilators were installed in the new county hospital being built in Winchester 1752–8, to replace the hospital opened by the Rev. Dr. Alured Clarke some 20 years before.<sup>4</sup>

There was, however, another less well known, I would mention – Browne Langrish,<sup>5</sup> a Petersfield man who later lived at Winchester. He lent the hospital money during a difficult period and became one of its physicians.<sup>6</sup> Earles, in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis has referred to Langrish's attempts to quantify the pharmacology of cherry laurel and more recently in *Medical History*<sup>7</sup> he has described Langrish's proposed method of diagnosis based on the resistance of blood clot. We find too, that Langrish, in his Croonian Lectures, appears to be feeling his way towards the electrochemical theory of nerve muscle relationship not finally elucidated until this century by Dale and others.<sup>8</sup> But Langrish has another claim to our attention because Edward Gibbon, an ailing boy at about 14 years, was placed in his care for some months. Gibbon had earlier been treated by the infamous quack, Joshua Ward who, it was alleged,

\*

Mr. Boorman, group pharmacist at Winchester and chief pharmacist to the Royal Hants County Hospital, qualified in 1936 and took the DBA in the following year. Born in Whitstable, he is a Man of Kent; was at school in Faversham and entered hospital practice at Canterbury. Since 1952 has been at Winchester, where his curiosity as to the origins of the Winchester quack led to his present activities as a historian of our profession. His wife Margaret, also a pharmacist (F.P.S.), is in general practice. They have a schoolboy son.

Based on a lecture given at the first provincial meeting of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy on November 5 1967 at Winchester.

had saved his life; but apparently Gibbon continued to need some medical care. This he received from Ward, the leading physician in Hampshire, who received him into his house at Winchester, where he met Browne Langrish junior, later a friend and neighbour.

Gibbon served in the South Hampshire Militia between 1759 and 1762 and he tells us how the South Hampshires were billeted in Devizes during the winter of 1762,<sup>9</sup> how some were married and were suffering from clap and other diseases. But he does not tell us that out of a total of forty burials in St Peter Chesil Winchester in 1761, thirty three were of soldiers of other regiments billeted in that parish. Winchester's significance as a military centre at this time is revealed in a large canvas, painted in 1759 and now in Abbey House, the Mayor's official residence, formerly the home of William Pescod the owner of the original hospital in Colebrook Street. In the foreground of the painting there is a group of mounted gentlemen one of whom may have been Gibbon, but it is not possible to identify him.<sup>10</sup> Saved by Langrish from an early death, Gibbon survived to learn something of military affairs, which must have helped him to prepare his great history. Gibbon, possibly the greatest of historians, summarised the historian's methodology in one modest sentence: "The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his subject; but while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials."<sup>11</sup>

### The Pleasure of Search

It is not my purpose to applaud this ancient city of Winchester or the 231-year-old county hospital I serve, but to describe something of the pleasure I derive from the search for and the criticism of my materials. Even if your knowledge of history, like mine, is a good deal less than that displayed by Sellar and Yeatman, you need not despair, so long as you are aware of your limitations.<sup>12</sup> No pharmaceutical scientist would attempt any investigation or research without preliminary reading and study in his chosen field. So must the pharmaceutical historian prepare himself by the acquisition of knowledge and skill in the historian's methodology. Knowledge which is concerned so much more with men than things brings its own reward. "The proper study of Mankind is Man;" says Pope.<sup>13</sup>

The articles of Crellin and Earles which have appeared in *The Pharmaceutical Journal* are inval-

uable to the novice pharmaceutical historian. The bibliographies they give are complete introductions to the study of the history of pharmacy and there is only one slim volume I wish to add to the list for those pharmacists who are embarking on the study of local history: *Local History and the Teacher* by Robert Douch.<sup>14</sup>

Amateurs in Hampshire are fortunate to have a *Victorian County History* and Mrs. Carpenter Turner's *History of Hampshire*, with its excellent illustrations and maps, which together form a comprehensive secondary source second to none in the country.<sup>15</sup> *The Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, edited for many years by Mrs. Carpenter Turner are essential reading for pharmacists interested in Hampshire's story. The Workers Educational Association in conjunction with Southampton University conducts courses of lectures in most towns in Hampshire on subjects of interest to local historians and archaeologists, both traditional and industrial. Pharmacists may acquire a great deal of background knowledge for their historical studies from the experts provided for these courses. This can do much to overcome the limitations of a largely science-based education. And here may I express the hope that pharmaceutical teachers and the Society's Education Committee will not be too slavishly committed to three advance levels in science for entry to the profession, but admit at least a few students who present a good record of study in the arts or humanities. The lip service paid to liberal studies is not good enough to produce a pharmaceutical historian.

My limitations were clear to me and they dictated to some extent my choice of period, the 18th century. I imagine that most pharmacists will be more competent to search in modern history, but those with a knowledge of mediaeval Latin, Norman French and early calligraphy should exploit their skills. Their contribution to the history of pharmacy will be the greater because of this special knowledge.

The Age of Johnson is culturally so rich; in poetry from Pope to the Hampshire Wartons and the apothecary Keats; the novels of Fielding, Smollett and Sterne; the music of Handel etc. Hampshire's own beloved Jane Austen brings this century to its close with her novels of country life and small town society. Read them and you discover the quiet beauty and charm of the Hampshire scene "dear Jane" knew. Together with her letters you may learn something about the apothecaries, the chemists and surgeons of Hampshire, and you will

then find how much there is in common between Hampshire's most outstanding surgical family, the Lyfords, and the fictional Mr. Perry, the apothecary of *Emma*.<sup>16</sup>

Keats came to Winchester in 1819, having qualified as an apothecary in 1816 together with two young men from Winchester, William J. Wickham and Henry Giles Lyford. Whilst in Winchester Keats wrote of the "Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness,"<sup>17</sup> and "The side streets of Winchester so maiden ladylike."<sup>18</sup> Here we must pause and remember Gibbon's advice to accuse the deficiency of our materials. Was it not also true that a woman was burnt at the stake on a little hill, a short distance from the city walls, that very year?<sup>19</sup> Two years earlier Jane Austen had died at peace overlooking Dr. Gabell's garden;<sup>20</sup> but not far away, at the Gaol in Jewry Street, an unknown man was lying amongst the other prisoners in a filthy common room, in a state of salivation.<sup>21</sup> This was an age of contrast, a period in which the historian must take particular care to criticise his material, setting fact against fact, searching carefully for the truth in the ferment of events. With this in mind, I found it challenging to read Woodland's view, generally a reliable local historian, that 18th century Winchester was "marked mainly by its destruction", whilst all around me I could see evidence of 18th century building.<sup>22</sup> Its bow windows for which men had fought the Pavement Commissioners for the right to build in the 1780's were still visible, although the planning authorities were now removing them in the name of progress.<sup>23</sup>

George Blore who specialised in the 18th century (and his Mss and published works are essential for anyone who intends working in this period of Winchester's history) said: "Men cared little for the public good, for reform or progress."<sup>24</sup> He added, "The only scheme showing real spirit was the founding of our first hospital" but he ignored the work of the Pavement Commissioners and the provision of free inoculation for the poor of the city.

### Primary material

So, to establish the truth about Winchester in the 18th century from these conflicting views, it was necessary to study primary material, of which there is an embarrassing amount relating to this century. I had read the minutes of the county hospital some years ago and I have since had the opportunity of reading a great deal of printed material in the city and county libraries. The

*Hampshire Chronicle*, first published in 1772, is now available on microfilm in the city library and it is a storehouse of information about local affairs. Its pages of advertisements for proprietary medicines could alone provide sufficient material for a learned thesis. I have, for example, already extracted some information about more than 300 advertised nostrums.

### The archives

City and county archives are rich in material from this period. In Winchester, we are fortunate to have Mrs. Cottrill at the county office and Mr. Austen Whitaker with the city. Both officers have given freely of their time and knowledge to help a pharmacist with his problems. But a few words of advice to the novice will save the busy archivist's and the novice's time: make an appointment first by writing, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope, then keep your appointment, armed with a soft lead pencil, notepaper and filing cards. Above all, do your homework first, reading all the secondary and printed sources available in local libraries, and finally be clear in your own mind what it is you want to find in the archivist's office. Any documents you are shown must be handled with care and with respect for their age. Do not expect to find a package of documents bundled up and catalogued "Pharmacists, for the attention of" but go prepared to make your own search under the careful guidance of the archivist.

Through the courtesy of the city archivist, I have been privileged to examine a large number of documents, which have been read for scraps of information about pharmacy and medicine. They include city ordinances, proposal books, chamberlain's records, rate collection books, disbursement books, minute books of the Pavement Commissioners, parish registers and churchwarden accounts. It is therefore impossible for me to discuss anything but a tiny fraction of investigations which resulted from my attempt to assess the value of the hospital I serve. No pharmacist should be content with merely reading the records of his pharmacy or hospital and then, after some period of investigation, producing a history which is only anecdotal. All too frequently, it seems to me, hospital histories have been written solely to titillate the reader with the evil doings of nurses, who were always in the pothouse, illiterate, immoral and filthy. A critical examination of parish registers and hospital minutes will show that these statements are made on insufficient evidence. For example, does it really mean very much to say that nurses were

likely to be illiterate when the registers of St. Peter Chesil, Winchester, reveal that nearly half the brides married between 1752 and 1800 could not sign their names?<sup>26</sup>

*To be concluded*

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## The American Institute of the History of Pharmacy

M.P. EARLES\*

The University of Wisconsin is one of the most beautiful in the United States. The campus is vast, with many fine buildings, trees and terraces. It stretches by Lake Mendota, which it borders, providing delightful views and excellent water sports for the 32,000 students. The university is well known in many fields of scholarship; to American Institute of the History of Pharmacy. The Institute is independent of the School of Pharmacy, although housed in its premises and closely associated with its work.

Early this century the Dean of the School, Edward Kremers, a distinguished reformer of pharmaceutical education, took steps to encourage the study of the history of pharmacy. In 1904 he instigated the establishment of a Section on Historical Pharmacy in the American Pharmaceutical Association and this has provided opportunities for papers to be read each year at the meetings of the A.Ph.A. (Today this function has been taken over by the Institute, meeting each year in the same place and simultaneously with the Association.) Kremers' other achievement was to establish an archive collection on the history of pharmacy, housed today in the library of the School of Pharmacy. His interest in the subject led Kremers to consider the possibility of a centre for the study of the history of pharmacy and he discussed the idea with many of his friends, among them the German pharmacist-historian George Urdang.

Urdang, during the twenties and thirties, had been largely responsible for maintaining the high tradition of German studies in pharmaceutical history. In 1938, a refugee from Hitler's anti-semitism, he arrived in the United States, soon to join his friend Kremers and collaborate with him in the writing of the *History of Pharmacy*, published in 1941. Urdang again raised the question of a centre for the history of pharmacy. In a letter to Kremers, in which he discusses the support it would receive from American pharmacists, he wrote, "We were five

men when we founded the 'Society for the History of Pharmacy' (the German Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Pharmazie). Within one year we had about 400 members and this number gradually increased to more than one thousand." A plaque in the School records that on January 22, 1941 the American Institute of the History of Pharmacy was founded there "to cultivate the history of pharmacy's role in civilisation and the humanistic values within the profession." Urdang's optimism was well founded. Today the membership stands at 1300.

George Urdang became the first Director of the Institute. In 1947 he was appointed by the University of Wisconsin a Professor in the History of Pharmacy and was able to conduct a post-graduate programme in the subject. When he retired in 1957 he was succeeded by the present Director, Professor Glenn Sonnedecker, the first man in Wisconsin to receive the doctorate degree for a programme of study in the history of pharmacy.

The duties of the Director are to conduct the historical work of the Institute; to supervise its publications; to maintain and expand the archive collection; to advise and help in the organisation of history meetings and to maintain contact with other history organisations. As a professor he teaches undergraduates the history of pharmacy and participates in graduate studies in the history of science and medicine as well as in pharmacy. He works closely with the elected officers of the Institute. Inevitably in this large country many of the officers are remote from Madison; the lines of communication established are evidence of the Institute's efficiency. Among the Director's most rewarding duties is to answer questions from members and others interested in the history of the profession and science of pharmacy. In this he can call upon the archive collection begun by Kremers and the very fine libraries of the University.

Pharmacy in America as elsewhere has many problems and none would deny that the stresses and strains within the profession and its relations with other professions present a situation calling for full understanding. While the history of pharmacy is in itself an interesting and rewarding study, what it contributes to one's knowledge of the nature and development of the profession leads to fuller understanding of today's problems and their possible resolution. American pharmacists have ample reason for being grateful to the pioneer work of Kremers and Urdang.

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- (8) Joseph Priestly, Adventurer in Science and Champion of Truth. F.W. Gibbs, London, 1966. Review by J.K. Crellin in *Medical History*, January 1967.
- (9) The Story of William Hunter. Sir Charles Illingworth. Edinburgh: E. & S. Livingstone 1967. Review by Peter Cooper in *Pharm.J.*, 1967, 199, 159.
- (10) Humphry Davy. Sir Harold Hartley, Nelson: London, 1967. Review by Peter Cooper in *Pharm.J.*, 1967, 199, 197.
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## A Commercial Revolution:

### English overseas trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

- #### RECENT BOOKS
- (1) Die Vorträge der Hauptversammlung der Int. Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Pharmazie. Contains papers delivered at the Int. Pharmaceutical Congress held in London, Sept. 1965. Ed. G.E. Dann. Stuttgart, 1966.
  - (2) The Evolution of Medical Education in Britain. Ed. F.L.N. Poynter, London 1966. Review by L.G. Matthews in *Pharm.J.*, 1967, 198, 300.
  - (3) The Medical Writings of Moses Maimonides – Vol. II Treatise on Poisons and Antidotes. Ed. S. Muntner. Pitman Medical Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1966. Review by P. Cooper in *Pharm.J.*, 1967, 198, 515.
  - (4) Drug Adulteration – Detection and Control in 19th Century Britain. E.W. Stieb. Madison, 1966. Review by Prof. J.M. Rowson in *Pharm.J.*, 1967, 198, 689.
  - (5) The Profession of Pharmacy – In U.S.A. R.A. Deno, T.D. Rowe and D.C. Brodie, Pitman Med. Publ. Co., London, 1966. Review in *Pharm.J.*, 1967, 198–160. *Ibid.* 1967, 198, 192.
  - (6) Dr. Thomas Sydenham, 1624–1689, Kenneth Dewhurst, London, 1966. Review by Christopher Hill in *Medical History*, April 1967.
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Every schoolboy, turning with some relief from the chronicles of kings, has learnt of our industrial revolution. Perhaps according to the proclivities of his teachers, this period comes to be seen as the seed bed of our present materially well-stocked life or, by those who yearn for the return of squire and manor, the root of our present discontent. Very few schoolboys, however, are told of our *commercial* revolution. Their teachers (and we pharmacists, so often active in commerce) now have no excuse for ignoring these karyokinetic years. Professor Ralph Davis (economic history, University of Leicester) has written a stimulating little essay on this subject ("A Commercial Revolution", Historical Association, London, 1967, 3s.6d.) in which, in 24 pp., including bibliographical note, he draws attention to English overseas trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The author claims that the most striking economic changes of the century or so after 1660 were associated with trade. He suggests that from the English Restoration (1660) to American Independence (1776) should be described as "The Commercial Revolution". We pharmacists could well extend the study of this period by examining the influence of this commercial activity on the import and export of drugs and the knowledge of their manufacture and manipulation.

N.H.





# PHARMACEUTICAL HISTORIAN

Newsletter of the  
BRITISH SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF PHARMACY

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Editor: S.F. Woodward, F.P.S.

Universitätsbibliothek

Archives: the 'Memory of Man' <sup>der</sup> Technischen Universität

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Archives embrace all human activities and have been defined as the Memory of Man. The records avidly collected for archives include administrative records of Man organised in society, legal records of him imposing rights or duties on the individual or on the group, industrial and union records of Man at work, club and society records of Man at play, church and chapel records of Man at worship, diaries and personal correspondence revealing his private personal life, records of his land and property, and hospital, medical and pharmaceutical records of his sickness and health.

Bedfordshire in 1918 was first to set up a local Record Office, and by now all English and eight Welsh counties have their own Record Offices. Their foundation is commonly the Quarter Sessions records, supplemented by records from County and other administrative bodies. From this base, the Record Office may branch out into the more difficult private sector by approaches to property owners and businesses on as wide a front as opportunity and resources permit.

An estate collection, as from the Carne family or Fonmon Castle, may have thousands of deeds back to the early 13th century, with maps, farm day books, personal diaries, correspondence and mis-

cellanea, including medical recipes for the family during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Boards of Guardians provide vaccination records, lunatic registers, hospital records of operations, reports on public health showing details for the cholera outbreaks in Cardiff (1849) and Merthyr and Neath (1866), as well as registers of births and deaths. A treatise of 1832 by Dr. W. Llewellyn Morgan on treating spasmodic cholera has come from private hands, and also trilingual guidance issued in 1853 to ships' captains faced with an outbreak.

The Dowlais Iron Company (later Guest, Keen) has a large collection of records with over half a million letters, agreements, technical drawings and reports, memoranda and so on. Negotiations in 1840 about salaries for the Company's surgeons show that medicines had to be provided at the works doctors' own expense, and attendance on employees and their families was paid by the Company, though midwifery services were excluded.

Local Annual Reports from Boroughs, Urban and Rural Districts to the Glamorgan County Medical Officer cover 1892-1910, and Surgeons Journals from Swansea Gaol cover 1829-1878.

Minute books of the Cardiff Medical Society, the South Wales and Monmouthshire B.M.A. branch (1870-1940) and the old N.H.I. Committees (1912-1948) for Glamorgan county and Merthyr borough provide surveys of changing medical circumstances, practice and events over long periods. Prescription books of two old established chemists in Cardiff and Neath show changing trends in pharmaceutical practice for almost a century (1855-1952).

Usually a large and varied collection requires cataloguing and indexing before individual items are effectively available to the student. Records from the 16th and 17th centuries need a knowledge of palaeography to read them, though perhaps this applies also to some more modern medical prescriptions.

Papers and parchments not kept in the atmosphere of a healthy living room will have suffered from damp, mildew will have set in and the size in the paper will have worn off, especially if over 200 years old. Such documents need repair before they can be handled freely.

In the Glamorgan Record Office, a repairer is at work full time, re-sizing documents from our own size simmered down from parchment chippings, repairing paper with paper and parchment with parchment, guarding or re-sewing and binding. Care is

taken to apply like to like and to keep out extraneous materials as far as possible, e.g. water and flour paste made from hard red-wheat stone-ground flour is used to avoid today's chemicals whose deleterious action on paper and ink over centuries is unknown; we are rather wary of accelerated ageing tests.

The task of a Record Office is not only to gather in the material, to repair it, list it and make it available, but to preserve it for centuries to come. The storage strong rooms are accordingly fitted with a carbon dioxide discharge system and other safeguards against fire. Theft, rats and mice are further risks, but the greatest danger to records in our rainy isles is damp. Relative humidity is maintained at about 50/55% by dehumidifiers that each draw out up to 2 pints of water from the air on bad days, and temperature is controlled at about 55/60°F.

Records that may have survived centuries are thus kept in sound condition for the student of tomorrow; but the immediate and urgent problem is to gather in material 'at risk' before it is lost or deteriorated, and in this collecting process the help of everyone in the community is needed.

*(From a paper read March 29, 1968, at the History of Pharmacy Conference at Cardiff)*

## Medicine and Pharmacy in Wales Before this Century

CONFERENCE AT CARDIFF, MARCH 28/30, 1968

With local arrangements in the hands of Mr. T.D. Turner, senior lecturer at the Welsh School of Pharmacy, and with the support of Professor A.M. Cook, the success of the Society's first residential weekend was assured. Some 30 members stayed at the Aberdare Hall of Residence where the congenial accommodation soon generated the right atmosphere for a delightful conference.

Professor Cook took the chair at the opening session on Saturday and welcomed about sixty members and guests; later sessions were chaired by Professor Trease, Mr. Bloomfield and Dr. G. Mitchell.

Dr. John Cule opened with a paper on 'Leprosy in Wales' and reviewed evidence for its incidence in the Middle Ages, though this was confused by the fact that the Hebrew word *tsara'ath* with its implication of uncleanness and punishment by Jehovah, had been translated in the Septuagint as the Greek word *lepra* which till then carried no religious opprobrium and meant various scaly skin diseases. He gave an account of the leper houses, the Welsh Leech Book and the Meddygon Myddfai MS concerning diagnosis and treatment.

Miss Elsas, Archivist for Glamorgan, opened a prospect for amateur historians by describing the

fascination and value of research in the county record offices. Documents on exhibition demonstrated some study material. Her paper is reported in the article 'Archives' preceding this report.

'Domestic Medicine in Wales' was surveyed by Dr. G. Harries, lecturer in Welsh at Swansea University College. Treatment of the sick was mainly in the hands of the church when the monasteries had been dissolved in the 16th century. Two ministers, Thomas Williams and John Wynn, had been specially outstanding and both had compiled dictionaries of treatment. Scarcity of medical care led to the wide use of folk remedies, fostered quack medicines and stimulated pilgrimages to holy wells for their healing properties.

The morning session was followed by the Society's Annual General Meeting, when Messrs. Drummond, Herdman and Matthews were re-elected to the Committee and Messrs. Harrod and Short were elected honorary auditors. An enjoyable visit was made to St. Fagan's Folk Museum on Saturday afternoon, and in the evening the Cardiff Branch of the Pharmaceutical Society entertained the Conference at a cocktail party with Dr. G. Mitchell as chairman and the town clerk of Cardiff among the guests.

On Sunday, Mr. J. Richards, well known author of 'The Cowbridge Story' reviewed 'Local History and Pharmacy in the Vale of Glamorgan', showing the rise of the general practitioner in that area. Slow growth and frequent changes of pharmacy ownership prevented the development of the family tradition that in some regions had been so noteworthy.

'Robert Drane (1832-1914)', notable in Cardiff pharmacy and natural history, was the subject of a paper by Messrs. P. Jenkins and T.D. Turner. Drane was a complex character whose boyhood had been spent in Norfolk. In Wales he gathered like-minded naturalists together to found the Cardiff Naturalists' Society. Seeking his knowledge from first hand observations, he was so keen that he took hares to bed so as to study their habits. He conducted an extravagantly built pharmacy, and Mr. Turner showed some of his specially made porcelain drug pots which are now much prized. Many of the drug pots and mortars from Drane's collection were placed on exhibition in the Welsh National Museum in 1930 by Alec S. Johnson, chairman of Robert Drane Ltd.

Dr. F. Thomas gave an account of 'The Redwood and Vachell Families'. Professor Theophilus Redwood (1808-1892) was a quaker and long associated with Jacob Bell; he was principal author of the book 'Historical Sketch of the Progress of Pharmacy in Great Britain' published in 1880, and was an early Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy in the Pharmaceutical Society's School of Pharmacy at Bloomsbury Square. He was also for a time sub-editor of The Pharmaceutical Journal.

Regional pharmacy in Hampshire was surveyed in the concluding paper, given by Mr. W.H. Boorman. He traced the development of the apothecary in that area as medical practitioner, and showed his derivation from the former mediaeval guilds of Winchester and Andover.

## Recent Events

### PHARMACEUTICAL ANTIQUES, I: POTTERY

On November 10, 1968, a Sunday afternoon meeting was held by the Society at 17 Bloomsbury Square for collectors and others interested in pharmaceutical antiques. About 90 members and guests attended. J. Ashdown surveyed the Lambeth and Southwark potteries, Dr. C.H. Spiers spoke on Pharmaceutical Pottery, and Mrs. A. Lothian Short on the English Drug Jars in the Pharmaceutical Society's Museum. An interesting impression of the afternoon was given by 'Onlooker' in The Pharmaceutical Journal (November 23, 1968, page 530).

### THE ORIGIN OF THE BRITISH PHARMACOPOEIA

On December 5, 1968, an evening meeting at 17 Bloomsbury Square heard R.S. Roberts, Ph.D., give an account of the medical rivalries and city government during the period when the two editions of the London Pharmacopoeia 1618 were published. Mr. T.C. Denston, for many years editor of the British Pharmacopoeia, was in the chair.

# Local History and the Pharmacist

William H. Boorman

CONCLUDED FROM VOL.1., NO.2, PAGE 6

One of the most serious objections made to Clarke by the citizens of Winchester when he proposed his hospital in May 1736 was that it would encourage the diseased poor to visit the city and instead of relieving sickness actually encourage its spread.<sup>27</sup> In an age of smallpox, this criticism could not be taken lightly and part of my study has been an examination of the precautions taken to prevent the spread of disease.<sup>28</sup>

Evidence collected in Winchester suggests that smallpox was the most feared, not because the mortality rate was high, but because "beauty was the prey."<sup>29</sup> Razzell in *Population Change in 18th century England* claims, however, that the success of inoculation against smallpox was responsible for the rapid rise in population towards the end of the century.<sup>30</sup> McKeown and Brown in *Medical Evidence Related to English Population Changes in the Eighteenth Century* are of the opinion that the reduction of mortality noticed after 1780 was due to improvements in environment and not to medical skill.<sup>31</sup> William Lipscomb, poet son of a Winchester inoculator, stresses that the effect of inoculation was not to lower mortality but rather that "again shall Beauty light the torch of Love."<sup>32</sup> The oldest primary authority for the existence of smallpox inoculators in Winchester is dated February 15 1758 and although Genevieve Miller claims that after the College of Physicians approved the procedure in 1755 there was no opposition from the profession, this document is a prohibition signed by all the surgeons and apothecaries who inoculated in Winchester.<sup>33</sup> In later years this ban was reimposed, but it became no longer a voluntary agreement but printed orders issued by the magistrates; as in 1774, when the mayor and magistrates resolved to prosecute all inoculators.<sup>34</sup>

## PARISH REGISTERS

I now decided to examine local parish registers to determine, if possible, what part inoculation and smallpox played in the 18th century. Before doing so, the pharmacist should read Cox on *Parish Registers* and if he wishes to make full use of the crude statistics he may extract from the registers, he must study *An Introduction to English Demography* and at least the essays in part two of *Population in History*,<sup>35, 36, 37</sup> to avoid drawing

wrong conclusions from the evidence he collects. The crude statistics (annual total baptisms, marriages and burials) were for convenience prepared in graphic form. They revealed a number of years which may be described as epidemic years, when the burial rate is much higher than the average. The registers of the combined parish of St. Maurice and St. Mary Calendar also showed that, except for 1753, smallpox did not contribute very much to the total burials. Even if we multiply by two, as Razzell says we must, to allow for failures to record or diagnose, the number of deaths attributable to smallpox does not reach epidemic proportions. As the graph included all hospital deaths, I prepared another showing only deaths of parishioners, but including all baptisms and marriages. This graph reveals a similar pattern although the decline in burials after 1780 is less marked. This decline coupled with the rapid rise in the number of baptisms at the end of the century is the most important factor of these statistics.<sup>38</sup>

This superficial examination of these registers suggests that Richard Price who wrote in 1777 that the population of England had declined by 25% in the preceding century had ample contemporary evidence for his views. A few years later we find in these figures confirmation for all the gloomy prognostications of Malthus.<sup>39</sup> The amateur, however, must beware of the interpretation he places on these figures and before proceeding further the pharmacist, in particular, must remind himself that these registers were not the accurate recordings of a neat, scientifically designed pharmacological experiment to determine the effects of advertised nostrums on the breeding habits of the parishioners.<sup>40</sup>

It would be unwise to assume that the advertisements for aphrodisiacs were responsible for the rise in baptisms mentioned above.

Even where the registers have been carefully maintained the evidence extracted may be falsified by migration. My examination of other parish records in Winchester has revealed significant differences proving that each parish has a dynamism peculiar to itself, even within the limits of a small city like Winchester. One feature of these crude statistics, out of many, is worth noting as it lends support to the views expressed by McKeown and Brown.<sup>31</sup>

In the early eighties of the 18th century the graphs reveal something of a watershed or a change in the fortunes of the parish. Seventeen seventy-nine had been a desperate year for England and in particular for the south coast. A time,

"When public papers of invasion told,  
Diseases, famines, perils new and old;"<sup>41</sup>

for the greatest enemy fleet ever assembled against Britain had sailed into the English Channel, whilst Tardy Hardy and his English fleet remained at Spithead. Rumour spread and the *Hampshire Chronicle* believed that Plymouth was in flames.<sup>42</sup> The mayor of Winchester and two surgeons denied that there was a pestilence raging in the city, but the parish burials, one of the highest totals for the century, tell their own story.<sup>43</sup> Canon Mulso complained that he and his wife had had sore throats. His wife had suffered from a complaint of the bowels and as he wrote to Gilbert White, "she has been rak'd fore and aft."<sup>44</sup> The spring of 1780 was cold and wet and Gilbert White reported; "Summer birds are, this cold and backward spring, unusually late: I have seen but one swallow yet."<sup>45</sup>

Haslar and Forton were full of sick sailors. The Spanish and French fleets suffered appalling losses and their dead so polluted the Cornish coast that the local fishermen did no fishing. The enemy fleets defeated by smallpox and typhus wintered in Brest, and the "Other Armada" failed, with hardly a shot being fired. Two hundred and sixty-eight Spanish and French prisoners died of typhus in the partly completed palace of Charles II at Winchester, by that time a prison. The great James Lind failed to find a cure and it was not until June, when the weather improved permitting the remaining prisoners to take a bath in the river Itchen, that the infection was brought under control. Carmichael Smyth, physician at the Middlesex, got the credit and £5,000 from Parliament, but it was the wash in the river which did more for the men than the unscientific and unfeeling doctor. Unscientific because he believed that heating saltpetre produced nitrous acid gas, which he thought was the cure. Unfeeling, because, as he complained in his report, he had been compelled to step over a dead or dying man to gain access to the prison hospital. He apparently made no attempt to discover the poor wretch's true condition.<sup>46</sup>

The following spring, a remarkable change occurred and the readers of the *Hampshire Chronicle* were invited to;

"Hail Winton, bless'd City the pride of the fair,  
With Health, Wit and every Happiness bless'd";<sup>47</sup>

This improvement being effected by the Pavement Commissioners who, having put down gravel in the High Street, also decided to repair the gutter which conveys the water from the tenements at the Market Cross and the stalling at the Town Pound.<sup>48</sup> Later, in 1781, they ordered, "That the gutter, leading from the reservoir in the House now in the occupation of James Marriner be altered so as to prevent filth running into the well belonging to the Town Pump."<sup>49</sup> The commissioners were doing their work well and the apothecaries, druggists, physicians and surgeons who served as commissioners played their part in this work.

They profited too from the improvement in the health and wealth of the community. George Earle, four times mayor of Winchester, opened his medicine shops in 1774 and despite the severe competition he experienced from newsagents and stationers, he could afford, in 1796, to give one of the best mayoral feasts.<sup>50</sup> On September 16 in the following year, we learn from the *Hampshire Chronicle* that "The Winchester apothecaries never experienced such a demand for ipecacuanha and glauber salts as they did on Monday last."<sup>51</sup> A report which makes us realise that the gluttonous freemen's evacuations prior to the mayor's feast of goose and cabbage, also brought profit, although the demand for medicine may have declined in these healthier days.

\* \* \*

It has not been possible to develop a coherent story about Winchester in the 18th century, but the above illustrates why the history of Winchester is my delight. I hope you have learnt sufficient about my search to apply yourselves to a study of your own district. It is a study that requires no elaborate apparatus for its performance, only your time and devotion and the certain knowledge that it will enrich your understanding of your profession's past, present and future. Then finally, when you write your community's history, you may echo the words of Gibbon: "I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near 20 years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public."<sup>52</sup>

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## LOCAL HISTORY : Boorman

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## Urdang Medal for our President

Presentation of the tenth Urdang Medal to Mr. Leslie G. Matthews at the Society's session on September 10 during the British Pharmaceutical Conference at Birmingham enabled our members to congratulate him on this well deserved honour. The medal is awarded internationally in recognition of distinguished writing in pharmaceutical history. It was established by the American Institute of the History of Pharmacy in honour of the late George Urdang who was the Institute's first director.

Dr. M.P. Earles who had just returned from a year at Wisconsin as Acting Director of the Institute made the presentation on their behalf. He spoke of Mr. Matthews' long devotion to historical research and scholarship, and its culmination in the two books, 'History of Pharmacy in Britain' (1962) and 'The Royal Apothecaries' (1967) as well as numerous papers. Both books had been specially commended by the American Institute in awarding the medal.

Mr. Matthews expressed his pride at receiving the Urdang medal and gave some memories of two pharmaceutical historians who had stimulated his interest. Howard Bayles, who died in 1954, came from the county of Norfolk as did Mr. Matthews and contributed many articles on pharmaceutical history to *The Chemist and Druggist*. William Kirkby of Manchester, an exact historian with a pleasing fancy for the unusual byway, was another early influence, until his death in 1942. Mr. Matthews also recalled letters he exchanged with George Urdang when the American Institute was founded in 1952.

## Kremers Award to Dr. M. Levey

The Edward Kremers Award was presented to Dr. Martin Levey in June by Professor Glenn Sonnedecker at the University of New York, Albany, U.S.A. This award is for distinguished writing by an American in pharmaceutical history. It was established in honour of the late Edward Kremers, one of the founders of the American Institute of the History of Pharmacy.

Dr. Martin Levey is professor in the History of Science at New York State University. He is a

chemist and has special interest in the ancient languages of the Middle East. His many publications include 'Chemistry and Chemical Technology in Ancient Mesopotamia' (1959), 'Mediaeval Arabic Book Making and its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology' (1962), 'The Medical Formulary of Al-Kindi' (1966) and 'The Medical Formulary of Al-Samarqandi' (1967).

## Book Review

*Catalogue de la Collection d'Anciens Ouvrages de Pharmacopées Français et Etrangers.* - Ordre National des Pharmaciens, Paris, 1967

This Catalogue, compiled by Dr. Pierre Julien for the Council of the Ordre National des Pharmaciens, has a lively and comprehensive foreword by M. Frank Arnal, President of the Council of the Ordre and an Honorary President of the Société d'Histoire de la Pharmacie. He describes the acquisition by the Council of the important and wide-ranging collection of pharmacopoeias and historical works made by Edmond Leclair, himself a pharmaceutical historian of repute. It was due to the foresight of M. Pierre Martinot, well known to pharmacists attending Franco-British Conferences, that this valuable collection was secured by the Ordre.

A collection of books, however valuable, if uncatalogued, loses much of its value to the scholar. Here the Council of the Ordre wisely entrusted the preparation of a Catalogue to Dr. Pierre Julien, known to all members of the French History of Pharmacy Society as co-editor of its *Révue*. From his formidable task has come a splendidly produced volume. The items are grouped in five sections: (1) Middle Ages to the 16th century; (2) 17th and 18th centuries; (3) 19th and beginning of the 20th century; (4) Regional and local French pharmacopoeias. With this well indexed Catalogue, and the ready accessibility of the collection made possible by the Council of the Ordre, the serious student of the history of pharmacy has an enviable source upon which to draw. And what treasures the collection contains! Many ancient masters are represented e.g. Nicolaus, Valerius Cordus, l'Obel, Matthiolus and Sylvius. The 17th and 18th century writers include George Bates (Pharm. Bateana), Baumé, Moise

Charas, Thomas Fuller and Lemery. There is a complete run of the French Codex from the earliest (1818) to 1920. The collection of regional French pharmacopoeias must be unique.

Among the British volumes are many pharmacopoeias of London and Edinburgh, and writers such as Pemberton, Pereira and Redwood find a place. The illustrations from various works included in this Catalogue whet the appetite and certainly it will tempt the historian to make a lengthy visit to the offices in Paris where the volumes may be consulted. The bibliophile will note the care with which Julien has lovingly described each precious volume and will appreciate the excellence of the indexing. Altogether there are 524 entries in its 96 pages. The Council of the Ordre and the author of the Catalogue are to be congratulated upon the production.

Leslie G. Matthews

## History at the Pharmaceutical Conference

Our Society held a well attended session at the 1968 Conference in Birmingham.

Mr. S. Fox F.L.A. of Birmingham College of Commerce in "Science and Medicine in 19th century Birmingham" described the beginnings of the industrial revolution. Joseph Priestley came there in 1780 from Calne where the Earl of Shelburne had encouraged him to experiment in natural science. His researches were animated by the growing spirit of objective enquiry and in Birmingham he found many receptive of the new ideas. The Lunar Society was founded for their scientific discussions and, whereas detached research remained dominant in Oxford, Cambridge, London and Edinburgh, the Birmingham interest took a practical turn towards exploiting natural resources. James Watt, Joseph Wedgwood the potter, Boulton, Keir, Black and Roebuck a physician were prominent.

Medical men shared in this ferment of ideas. Thus Dr. Erasmus Darwin invented a mill for grinding flints, which Wedgwood constructed for his pottery, and Dr. William Withering contributed papers on geology, botany and chemistry to the Royal Society.

Professor G.R. Paterson, Toronto, in "Alkaloids: their Discovery and its Significance" outlined the discovery of cinchonine and quinine (Gomes, Pelleter and Caventou) and of morphine (Sertwimer) in 1800-1820. Many other alkaloids were isolated from vegetable drugs in the next 20 years but not till chemical and analytical techniques were refined over the next half century could they be used efficiently in medicine as pure substances. Pioneer manufacturers included Morson, T. & H. Smith and Howards. These developments stimulated the elucidation of active principles from other natural sources.

Two centuries of dispensary practice were reviewed in "Drug Weighing in Britain" by J.K. Crellin and J.R. Scott. Lead weights whose softness made for inaccuracy gave way to brass weights in the early 17th century. Stamping of these by the Founders Company was obligatory in central London, but until the Weights and Measures Act in 1878 enforced national standards of inspection, the apothecary mostly relied on his own knowledge and skill in purchasing and maintaining his scales and weights. The paper has been published in "Medical History", 1969, 13 51.

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## Forthcoming Events

1969. April 18-20. The Society is organising a residential Symposium at Nottingham University, when papers will be read on the impact of medicine and pharmacy on the population of Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries.

1969. September 2. On Tuesday during the British Pharmaceutical Conference at Belfast, the Society will hold an afternoon session on some aspects of the History of Pharmacy.

1969. November 2. The Society hopes to organise a Sunday visit to the History of Science Museum at Oxford, with lectures on pharmaceutical aspects and associations there.

Please book these dates in your diary.





# PHARMACEUTICAL HISTORIAN

Newsletter of the  
BRITISH SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF PHARMACY

17 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.

Editor: S.F. Woodward, F.P.S.

## OUR PUBLICATIONS

Universitäts- und  
Technische Bibliothek  
Technische Universität  
33 Braunschweig  
Pockelsstraße 13

When the British Society for the History of Pharmacy was founded in 1967, one of the first matters considered by its Committee was the nature of the publications that might be needed. Most of the Society's meetings are reported in the *Pharmaceutical Journal*, but the 'Pharmaceutical Historian' was introduced to serve members more specifically and directly. It provides a medium for news and the exchange of ideas, and includes also short original articles that may be documented where useful.

At the same time, it was realised that there is a dearth of media in English for publishing longer papers resulting from original research on the history of pharmacy and pharmaceutical science. The Committee, wishing to reflect the Society's commitment to encouraging the serious study of pharmaceutical history, made plans also for a more ambitious publication to be called "Transactions of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy", and its issue will begin shortly.

This publication will be devoted to papers deemed to make an original contribution to pharmaceutical history, and conforming with good standards of historical scholarship. It should carry interest beyond the member-

ship of the British Society and reach out to pharmacy historians abroad and workers in the cognate fields of history of medicine, society and education. In this way it is hoped the Transactions may enhance the reputation of the Society.

To launch a new publication in these days of high and rising printing costs is a difficult project. The Transactions will not be a regular publication, but issues will have a uniform format and will be numbered serially to permit binding in volumes. It is thought that two issues a year may be practicable, and two papers are in the press the first issue, viz.

'Thomas Baskerville, Elizabethan Apothecary of Exeter': Margery Rowe and Prof. G.E. Trease.

'The Diagnosis, Care and Treatment of Leprosy in Wales and the Border in the Middle Ages': J. Cule.

Pharmaceutical Historian will of course report on the Transactions as they are published. This will enable all our readers to judge their personal interest in each monograph, and a reduced price will be available to members of our Society.

# Project for A Directory of Provincial Apothecaries

T.D. Whittet

The records of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London are complete from the time they separated from the Grocers' Company in 1617, but, except for a few cities such as Chester, records of provincial apothecaries are scattered throughout many archives and little has been written on them. A more comprehensive list is needed, and a project for compiling it is outlined here with suggestions for sources of information. This work may appeal to many members of the British Society, and cooperation will be welcomed in building up a composite record for the period before 1815.

## GUILDS

There are a few references to apothecaries in such general books on the Guilds (originally spelt 'Gilds') as those by Gross and by Kramer, and in books on the history of pharmacy, e.g. Matthews; Trease. My paper on 'The Apothecary in Provincial Gilds' (Med. Hist. 1964, 8, 245) dealt mainly with the guilds as organisations, but mentions a few individual apothecaries. That study showed that the apothecaries, except in London, Edinburgh and Dublin, were united with other occupations in joint guilds or in one large general guild. Where records of these guilds exist, much valuable information can be found. Those of Chester, for example, are complete from 1604 until the present. This guild embraced mercers, grocers, ironmongers and apothecaries. In some guild records, however, trades of the individual members are not given, or an apothecary may be called a mercer or a merchant, especially where the guild was known simply as the Mercers' Gild or Merchants' Gild. For example, Robert Blease of Chester is sometimes called mercer and sometimes apothecary. Other examples are Ralph Clark of Grantham, Lincs. who was called a mercer, though his inventory clearly shows him to have been an apothecary; Richard Barber of Gainsborough issued a trade token on which he is called a mercer though it bears the arms of the Society of Apothecaries.

In the records of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, it is often specially difficult to determine the occupation of some guild members. Bulmer Ile is mentioned in the Enrolment

Rolls as a merchant and merchant adventurer, and only a casual mention in a discussion about the admission of another apothecary reveals that he was in fact an apothecary himself.

## CITY AND TOWN RECORDS

City and town records often contain references to apothecaries, but scattered throughout many documents. Some of these records have been printed, e.g. for Nottingham, whereas others are still in manuscript, e.g. the second Coventry Leet Book (council minutes). Rolls of admission to the freedom of various cities or towns frequently contain the names of apothecaries. I have extensive lists of apothecaries of Chester and of York from such sources and Matthews compiled similar lists from Canterbury and Norwich; he also reported on very early records of spicers and apothecaries in York (Pharm. Historian, 1967, No.1 page 2.)

Some county, city or town archivists have card indexes of citizens, and where these are indexed for trades, lists of apothecaries can be obtained easily. The Lincolnshire Archives provided me with about 150 apothecaries' names.

LOCAL HISTORIES AND DIRECTORIES can be useful sources. Such books of local history as the Victoria County Histories provide occasional references to apothecaries, and so do some books on local topography. Early directories of towns and cities commonly gave the occupations of citizens and many names and addresses for apothecaries in the province can be found in them.

LOCAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETIES in their publications and transactions often refer to apothecaries.

CHURCH MEMORIALS AND RECORDS. Matthews drew attention to apothecaries' memorials in churches in Pharmaceutical Historian (1968. No.2, page 2); these include brasses, tombstones, plaques and windows. I have found such memorials in Cambridge, Oxford, Market

Harborough and Oundle; as Matthews says, there must be many of these.

Church registers and applications for ecclesiastical licences to marry may also provide information about apothecaries and their families, as I found in research for my Sydenham lecture, "Apothecaries in the Great Plague of London". A few registers have been printed, e.g. by the Harleian Society, but others remain in manuscript.

**EPISCOPAL LICENCES** to practise medicine, surgery, pharmacy or midwifery granted by bishops often refer to apothecaries, some of whom were granted licences and others gave testimonials supporting the applicants. A few have been published and there is an unpublished list in the Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine. Many others remain to be examined.

**WILLS AND INVENTORIES** are stored in Somerset House and in city and county records. The London Record Society published lists of those of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and the Preston Archivist supplied me with a long list of wills of apothecaries in Lancashire. Inventories may be specially useful in confirming that a person was an apothecary, as mentioned above for Ralph Clark of Grantham.

#### TRADE TOKENS

Several papers have been published on the trade tokens issued in the 17th. century by apothecaries. Wm. Boyne's standard work on 'Trade Tokens' was revised by Williamson and recently reprinted (B.A. Seaby Ltd., London, 1967), but many apothecaries who issued tokens are not mentioned as such in this survey.

**SHOP SIGNS AND TRADE CARDS.** Lists of trade signs published for London mention many apothecaries; there may be similar entries in local provincial records.

**PHARMACEUTICAL EQUIPMENT.** Several mortars bearing the name of the apothecary for whom they were made still exist, e.g. John Battersby, apothecary to Samuel Pepys, in the Apothecaries Hall. Some drug jars bear their owners' initials, though rarely the full name. At least two pill-tiles are known as bearing names. One of the best polychrome tiles extant, now in the Pharmaceutical Society's museum, bears the name of Thomas Favtrart and the date 1670, together with the arms of the Society of Apothecaries; Favtrarts name has not yet been found in any records. Another pill-tile

in this collection bears the Christian name Edward, only initial 'W...' of his surname being visible; it is dated 1663.

**APPRENTICES.** Sons of apothecaries and others from the provinces were sometimes bound to the London apothecaries, and lists of the London Society include names crossed out and sometimes marked "gone"; which suggests that these had probably returned to their hometowns, as those who died were usually marked "mort". George Payte, son of Robert Payte of Lichfield, is said to have been the Society of Apothecaries' first country apprentice; this was in 1629. A few of the lists of members of the London Society, such as those of 1640 and 1685, give addresses, including several in the provinces.

**HOSPITAL HISTORIES.**and Archives often mention the names of London and provincial apothecaries.

**MISCELLANEOUS.** Pepys' Diary mentions several London apothecaries, and that of Anthony à Wood gives some of Oxford. Soldiers wounded in the Civil War were being taken to the houses of apothecaries.

Several famous people lodged with apothecaries, notably Robert Boyle with John Crosse of Oxford, and Isaac Newton, as a boy, with William Clark of Grantham. Numerous apothecaries wrote books; Thomas Johnson translated Renodaeus's Dispensatory. Many were keen botanists and have been perpetuated in the names of plants or are mentioned in botanical histories. Contributors to the Proceedings of the Royal Society include a number of apothecaries.

#### THE DIRECTORY PROJECT

From such sources, I have made a card index of several thousand apothecaries from London and over one hundred towns in Great Britain. A comprehensive directory would be very useful to historians of pharmacy and medicine, but its compilation obviously needs the collaboration of investigators all over the country. I would welcome the help of members of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy. Local lists could be published by the person or team working in any area, and I would be happy for such persons to use, with suitable acknowledgment, the material I have collected.

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Correspondence on this project or requests for references should be sent to:- Dr. T.D. Whittet, Woburn Lodge, 8 Lyndhurst Drive, Harpenden, Herts.

## History of Pharmacy Session at the Belfast Conference

A very successful meeting was held by our Society on Tuesday, September 2nd, 1969, when two excellent papers were given under the chairmanship of Dr. T.D. Whittet. About 75 persons attending the Conference were present at this session.

The first paper "The Apothecaries' Influence on the Professional Organisation of Pharmacy in Ireland in the 18th and 19th Centuries" was given by Norman C. Cooper. The first apothecary about whom there is definite information was Thomas Smith who arrived from England shortly before 1556. He later became Mayor of Dublin and had the honour of laying the foundation stone of Trinity College.

The apothecaries became members of the Guild of St. Mary Magdalene which had been granted its Charter in 1446. This guild originally contained barbers, surgeons and periwig makers, but the apothecaries were granted a Charter in 1745 making them a separate organisation known as the Guild of St. Luke.

A famous member was Dr. Charles Lucas (1713-1771) who was a man of great foresight and a pioneer in many aspects of medicine and pharmacy in Ireland. He was also a Member of Parliament and a great Irish patriot. The 1761 Pharmacy Act is sometimes called "The Lucas Act," and he is usually regarded as the founder of Dublin's Apothecaries Hall, though it was not opened until some time after his death. The 1791 Apothecaries' Act provided for the formation of a Company of Apothecaries, consisting of one Governor, a Deputy Governor, 13 directors and subscribers for the purpose of erecting a Hall, in which "medicines of the purest quality" could be prepared "under the inspections of persons well skilled in the art and mystery of such preparations."

Several noted scientists were associated with this Hall, including Sir Robert Kane, F.R.S., William Higgins, F.R.S., and Michael Donovan, M.D. Kane was a famous chemist, Higgins to some extent anticipated Dalton's atomic theory and Donovan, besides inventing the Solu-

tion named after him, was a pioneer of pharmaceutical education.

As in England and Wales, the apothecaries encroached on medical practice and were eventually recognised as medical practitioners by the Medical Act of 1858.

There had been a Pharmaceutical Society in Ireland in 1783, but it was not until 1875 that pharmacy became recognised as a separate profession by the Pharmacy Act (Ireland) which established a register of pharmaceutical chemists. The newly formed Pharmaceutical Society included those apothecaries who still practised pharmacy and the chemists and druggists. The right of Irish apothecaries to own a pharmacy has been preserved until the present time.

The second paper "Belfast - Some Aspects of Local Medical History" was given by Dr. R.W.M. Strain, who described some of the early charitable organisations and medical societies. The Charitable Society founded in 1752 established the Charitable Dispensary in 1792 and this developed into the Royal Victoria Infirmary. The General Hospital founded in 1815 became associated with the medical school which developed into the Queen's University. James MacDonnell who gave the first clinical lecture in 1827 is regarded as the founder of the Medical School.

The Academical Institute, popularly known as "Inst." had a chair of anatomy and physiology from 1818.

The Belfast Medical Society founded by Dr. Samuel Smith Thomson in 1806 was the forerunner of the present Ulster Medical Society.

Dr. Strain referred to an apothecary of 1651 receiving a salary of £50 per annum when a physician's salary was £100 per annum. He also mentioned Sir Hans Sloane, a native of Ulster, who was such a benefactor to the London Apothecaries.

It was interesting to learn that two of Belfast's mineral-water businesses developed from pharmacies, and that Dr. S.M. Stephenson, a clergyman who lodged with an apothecary called Braddock, was inspired by him to study medicine and eventually became a famous physician.

The papers were followed by a lively discussion, and it now seems assured that the Historical Session of the Conference is well established and will become a popular and valuable addition to the annual proceedings.

## Pharmaceutical History at the Sale Rooms

The current revival of interest in Victoriana reflected by several recent auctions devoted to bygone produced little of pharmaceutical interest, other than a large car-boy with a cut-glass stopper which made £19 at a furniture sale.

An unusual item catalogued as “a pill-making machine by Shaw, Son & Thompson, London” on investigation proved to be a pill-coater of a type illustrated by S. Maw, Son & Thompson about 1882. It was purchased by a dealer for £18 at a February, 1969 sale.

At a sale of English pottery and porcelain, a lot which included seven small English delft unguent pots labelled “Waller & Son, Guildford” reached the amazing price of £230. Jesse Waller and his son were apothecaries in Guildford, Surrey, about 1780. These little pots, just over one inch in height, turn up singly as a rule; so a lot of seven of them was as surprising as the figure they commanded.

The sale of ‘A Collection of European and Islamic Drug Jars’ attracted many buyers, both English and Continental, to the Auction Rooms of Messrs. Sotheby & Co., London, on March 4th 1969. The collection of almost 300 drug jars fetched good prices, although a few were modern copies or replacements. The highest price (£1200) was paid by an Italian dealer for a fine Faenza drug bottle. The same buyer also acquired two Faenza albarellos at £220 and £500.

Early Persian ware, Italian, French, Dutch and Spanish drug jars were offered, but only a handful of English delft pots. A London dealer gave £140 and £145 for two William III period English ‘Angel’ syrup jars. Even damaged and restored English specimens obtained a good price. An English delft show jar painted

in blue with pomegranates and leaves of mid-17th century date, although it was catalogued as “Savona”, realised £370.

In October 1969 at Sotheby’s, an early 18th century octagonal pill-tile was sold for £520 to a dealer. The design resembled that of a pill-tile in the Society’s collection, bearing the coat of arms and motto of the Society of Apothecaries. Such tiles were often presented at the end of training to the apprentice, who proudly hung them on the shop wall; this fine specimen was pierced for hanging in this way.

APOLLO

## What’s in your Local Museum?

The Vice-President of our Society, Professor G.E. Trease, has suggested that much pharmaceutical material may be lying unknown in local museums, often unrecognised by Curators. The Society would like to compile a complete record of pharmaceutical material in museums, but this can be done only if members will ask their local museum Curators what the museum holds and with their assistance list the pharmaceutical material, mostly of an antique nature, in their care.

Alternatively, members may prefer to write to the Curator of their local museum, giving a list of the type of pharmaceutical objects in which the Society is interested, e.g. old pharmacy shop-fronts, pill-tiles, drug jars, scales and weights, measures, medicine-chests, mortars, old advertisements of patent medicines, trade-cards and bills, carboys, chemical glassware, prescription books, etc., and enquire whether the museum possesses anything of the kind. Such information would enable the Society to start compiling a card record of all such items. Ultimately, the Society would have a valuable coverage of pharmaceutical material now largely unknown and unexhibited in museums throughout the country.

Will you please do your part to help this investigation? Britain is uniquely rich in such material and our members will find enquiries in the local museums and the mansions that are often to be found in old towns can prove very rewarding.

## At the Sign of the Cat and Herrings

The civet cat of Abyssinia<sup>1</sup> was a not uncommon sign outside the shop of an apothecary<sup>2</sup> in London during the eighteenth century and earlier. Cope's Liquid Balsam was being sold at 2/6d a bottle under the sign of the cat in St. Paul's Churchyard in 1691.

More precisely, the civet cat was a symbol of the apothecary's interest in the art of making perfumes, as a fixative for that purpose was obtained from the anal glands of this animal, similar to that secreted in the pods of the musk deer. Sir Ambrose Heal<sup>3</sup> mentions four perfumers who used this sign during the period 1750 to 1790; an Italian warehouseman was using two civet cats and an olive tree on his sign about 1764.

Sometimes three herrings with crowned heads were added to the civet cat sign. Stephen Brearcliffe in West Smithfield about 1760 was using this embellishment and his sign is illustrated in Heal's book.<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Foulks in the Strand about 1690 sold her specific for gout under the sign of Three Herrings and Crown.<sup>4</sup> The significance of the herrings and their crowns is not apparent.

We are indebted to Dr. Henryk Szancer (New York) for drawing attention to these variants and also to Dr. T.D. Whittet and Mr. L.G. Matthews for further references and information: Ed.

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'The Signs of Old London', F.G. Hilton Price, London Topog. Record, 1966, Vol.III, page 120.
3. 'Signboards of Old London Shops', Sir Ambrose Heal (1947). Pub. B.T. Batsford, London
4. 'Signs of the Old Houses in the Strand in the 17th/18th Centuries' (page 30). F.G. Hilton-Price (1907?). Pub. Russell Press, London

## Wandsworth Roads named after Pharmacists

Three roads on the Beaumont Housing Estate in the London Borough of Wandsworth have been named after pharmacists, each of whom had been a member of Parliament. In September, Sir Hugh Linstead unveiled a plaque in Linstead Way to mark this, and he was accompanied by M. Frank Arnal from France, after whom Frank Arnal Crescent has been named. The third pharmaceutical road is Jacob Bell Drive, and the founder of the Pharmaceutical Society lived at West Hill not far away.

An excellent picture of this unique occasion appeared in the *Pharmaceutical Journal*, Oct. 4th 1969 (page 414).

## Annual General Meeting

The Annual General Meeting of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy was held on Saturday, April 19th 1969 at the Institute of Education, University of Nottingham. The President (Mr. L.G. Matthews) took the Chair and 22 members of the Society were present. The Annual Report for 1968 presented by the Honorary Secretary and the Accounts and Balance Sheet from the Treasurer were approved.

The Society's Officers and Committee were elected as follows:-

<i>President</i>	L.G. Matthews
<i>Vice-President</i>	Prof. G.E. Trease
<i>Hon. Treasurer</i>	J.C. Bloomfield
<i>Hon. Secretary</i>	J.K. Crellin
<i>Committee</i>	C.G. Drummond
	Dr. M.P. Earles
	Mrs. A. Lothian Short
	Dr. T.D. Whittet
	W.H. Boorman (co-opted)
	S.F. Woodward (co-opted)

The Committee met five times during the year 1968.

## Fons et Origo - L'Evolution de la Pharmacie et du Pharmacien

*'Index des Travaux d'Histoire de la Pharmacie et l'Évolution de la Pharmacie et du Pharmacien.* E.H. Guitard. Paris, 1968, Société d'Histoire de la Pharmacie. pp. 206, illus. 50 fr.

How did the word "pharmacy" arise and when was the designation "pharmacist" first used? The searcher for the answers to these questions must look in an unlikely place—the Introduction to the *Index des Travaux d'Histoire de la Pharmacie*, 1913-1963, just published by that warm-hearted and witty founder of the French History of Pharmacy Society, Eugène Humbert Guitard. To have compiled a detailed Index of 51 years' issues (and those quarterly!) of the *Bulletin d'Histoire de la Pharmacie* (renamed the *Révue* some years ago), which Guitard founded in 1913 and edited for nearly fifty years, is itself no mean feat. To add as an Introduction some 58 closely printed pages on the evolution of "pharmacy" and "pharmacist" is an achievement that few writers on historical pharmacy could undertake, let alone convince readers of its good sense. The author's grounding in the classics and his wide reading have been put to good use.

We have been indebted to Dr. T.D. Whittet for many notes published by the *Chemist & Druggist* as a continuing series on the evolution of the pharmacist in many countries of Europe. Guitard, on the other hand, shows that some pharmaceutical terms during the classical period were not always favourable to those whom we now describe as "pharmacists." He starts by quoting Frederic Mistral, the poet.—"Who knows the language holds the key: words are the witnesses of history."

In antiquity, some of the Greek words beginning "pharmak—" clearly had an unfortunate connotation, e.g. "pharmakeus" was a preparer of poisons and stupefians. During the same period, the sellers of aromatics and myrrh were known as *aromatopoles* and *moropoles*. The Romans too had terms of their own, e.g. the *unguentarius* who supplied lubricants for the bath and the *herbarius*, who gathered herbs. "Pharmacopolus", according to Horace, described the sort of persons who were linked with beggars and buffoons ("Pharmacopolus", the Latin equivalent for an apothecary in England, was in use here until well into the 18th century). By the seventh century, the word "apotheca" indicating a warehouse or depository, was in general use. "Apothecarius" accordingly designated a storekeeper and, in

church circles, the comptroller whose duties embraced superintendence of stores. In the Arab world and in the Levant particularly where the word "apotheca" was adopted, the pronunciation and the written characters resulted in "botigja" and "boutiquia",

On comparable lines, Guitard has traced the origin of the word "épices" (spices) from the Latin "speciarius" (alternative, especer), used in England in the 13th century. By the 16th century, the spicer in France was distinguished from the spicer-apothecary, and the description of master of pharmacy (*magisterium pharmaticum*) was being used in statutes and by authors such as de Mandeville. The word "pharmacopoeia" first appeared in the title page of the Compendium printed for Johannes Placotomus in Antwerp in 1510 and it soon passed into current use for Formularies.

As to the word "pharmacien", this was used by a student in Montpellier in 1615 who signed his lecture notes "Lavellan, phar." and who mentioned "Questions pharmatiènes". Jean de Renou published his *Institutionum Pharmaceuticarum* in 1608, the French translation of which was published as *Oeuvres Pharmaceutiques* in 1624. After that, the word "pharmatien" or "pharmacien" came to be used widely in France to denote a person competent in pharmacy, whereas for the holder of a diploma, as distinct from a person merely "competent", the word "Apothecary" was retained. All this was regularised in 1803 when in the *Loi de Germinal* the word *pharmacien* was the only one used, *pharmaciens* being listed as of two classes, "de première", the best qualified, and "de seconde classe". Much more along these lines has been garnered and sifted by Guitard in his fascinating Introduction. The reader now digests the fruits of his long period of study.

In a chapter relating to the "pharmacien" outside France and in the Commonwealth, Guitard pays tribute to the work of Mrs. Lothian-Short, Matthews, Poynter, Trease and Whittet. He concludes by saying that the history of pharmacy and that of related disciplines is "an integral part of history in general, which explains them and which they themselves explain."

In this Introduction, in the Index itself and the illustrations, the reader will find his attention held, and he will be grateful to the author and compiler for completing a task both arduous and useful.

Leslie G. Matthews

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*Reviewing Journals:* PJ = Pharmaceutical Journal;  
CD = Chemist and Druggist; MH = Medical History.

## Forthcoming Events

APRIL 10th - 12th, 1970. BATH

The third annual Weekend Conference of the Society for the History of Pharmacy will be held at the Bath University of Technology in association with the Centre for Adult Studies. Members will have received details and Application Form from the Secretary. The theme is PHARMACY AND MEDICINE IN THE REGENCY PERIOD

On Friday evening, April 10th, members assemble at 18.30, and the Conference Lecture is given by Pro- fessor D.A. Norton, followed by dinner.

Five papers will be read at sessions on Saturday and Sunday mornings:

The Apothecaries Act of 1815	<i>Dr. Holloway</i>
Pharmacy in the Bath Region	<i>J.L. Harris &amp; G. Fletcher</i>
The History of Spa Treatment	<i>Dr. Kearsley</i>
Pneumatics and Pneumatic Medicine	<i>Dr. Cartwright</i>
Rowlandson and Gillray Period	<i>Mrs. A. Short</i>

On Saturday afternoon, the Conference will be taken on a tour of places of historic interest, including tea at the American Museum, a fine mansion on the hills above Bath. In the evening, the Bath branch of the Pharmaceutical Society will give a Reception for the Conference. The Society's Annual General Meeting will be held on Saturday and a Discussion Forum on Sunday morning.

The Residential Fee of £10 covers Conference events, accommodation in hotels in the centre of Bath and meals from dinner on Friday to lunch on Sunday. Registration fee is £1.10s.0d., making a total of £11.10s.0d. for a most attractive weekend, recalling the Regency Period in a very congenial atmosphere.

SEPTEMBER 14th, 1970. LEEDS

During the British Pharmaceutical Conference at Leeds the Society will hold an afternoon session on Tuesday. The topic will be the History of Hospital Pharmacy.





# PHARMACEUTICAL HISTORIAN

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## BATH 1970

- a most successful  
conference

THE Society's week-end conference at Bath, April 10–12, was voted the most successful yet. Fifty members attended and all spoke highly of their hospitable reception by the Centre of Adult Studies, Bath University of Technology, and Bath Branch of the Pharmaceutical Society.

Social events of the week-end included a dinner at the senior common room at the University, at which Professor A.D. Norton gave an address on trends in pharmaceutical education, a reception by the officers of the Branch, and a tour of the city followed by tea at the nearby American Museum.

The Conference general title, "Pharmacy and Medicine in the Regency Period", was liberally interpreted to allow suitable reference to the use of the Bath waters in Roman times and even earlier. In the pages that follow the four papers presented are summarised to the extent that space requires, leaving some space for reproducing some of the fascinating series of cartoons, portraits and paintings that were projected and explained by Mrs A. Lothian Short on the Sunday morning.

## Make a note of this date

On Saturday evening, October 31, and Sunday morning, November 1, the Society is holding a meeting, 'Glass Antiques', which it is hoped will attract members from all parts of the country but especially the northern counties. Detailed arrangements, which are in the hands of member Mr. G.A. Hutton, Hatfield, Yorks, will be notified to members later. The programme will probably include a visit to the Kirk museum and lunch together on Sunday.

Bath's Universitätsbibliothek  
der  
Waterstechnischen Universität  
33 Braunschweig  
Pockelsstraße 13.

IN a paper on the history of spa treatment, Dr. G.D. Kersley said that from ancient times medicine and natural waters had been associated with one another – in Babylon, under the Etruscans and at Rome. In England treatment with water, at first under the Church, had passed to the laity. Bath as a spa had had two peak periods – in Roman times and during the 18th Century, though even earlier the swineherd Bladud had observed almost miraculous improvement in the health of his pigs after they had been drinking water from the hot spring.

Bath's waters came into use again during the 16th Century but the Roman bath, described by Ptolemy as one

of the wonders of the world, was lost after the departure of the legions and not rediscovered until the 19th Century.

Use of Bath water was principally for gout and skin conditions, though it had a reputation for ensuring fecundity that prompted visits to Bath by two English Queens, one of them without the desired happy result. Conduct at the baths was anything but fastidious until Beau Nash imposed his rules.

Then, as one versifier put it,

Twas a glorious sight to behold the fair sex  
All wading with gentlemen up to their necks  
And today many persons of rank and condition  
Were boiled by command of an able physician

Only three hospitals in Britain are older than Bath's National Hospital for Rheumatic Diseases, established to provide treatment with Bath water for non-residents of the city.

As a resort for the aristocracy Bath's popularity declined after Russell advocated treatment with sea water and the Prince Regent brought Brighton its fame.

# Pharmacy in Bath during the Regency Period

G. FLETCHER and J.I. HARRIS

(School of Pharmacy, Bath University of Technology)

DURING the Regency period (1811–20), the City of Bath proper was divided into four parishes: St. Peter and St. Paul, St. James, St. Michael and Walcot. Their populations for 1801, 1811, and 1821, taken from Keene's Bath Guide of 1824, were, with two neighbouring parishes (Bathwick and Lyncombe and Widcombe):-

## POPULATION OF BATH, 1801–21

Parish	1801	1811	1821	Increase from 1811
St. Peter & St. Paul				
<i>Males</i>	1048	1179	1379	302
<i>Females</i>	1412	1538	1640	
St. James				
<i>Males</i>	2051	2497	2834	725
<i>Females</i>	2897	3056	3444	

St. Michael				
<i>Males</i>	1580	1235	1545	546
<i>Females</i>	2103	1663	1917	
Walcot				
<i>Males</i>	6829	7744	9541	3480
<i>Females</i>	10,730	12,816	14,505	
Bathwick				
<i>Males</i>	1048	1204	1537	831
<i>Females</i>	1672	1968	2466	
Lyncombe and Widcombe				
<i>Males</i>	1231	1398	2571	2370
<i>Females</i>	1559	2118	2209	
TOTALS	34,160	38,434	46,688	8254

Over the decade 1811–21 the population rose by approximately 21% – more than in any other decade of the 19th century.

## POPULATION OF BATH 1801–1901

1801	–	34,160	1851	–	54,254
1811	–	38,434	1861	–	52,528
1821	–	46,688	1871	–	52,557
1831	–	50,800	1881	–	51,827
1841	–	53,206	1901	–	49,871

The numbers of physicians, surgeons, apothecaries and chemists and druggists are summarised in the Table though local guides and directories reveal inconsistencies both in numbers and in categories.

## DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROFESSIONS

	1800	1810	1812	1815	1816
Physicians	22	28	26	28	26
Surgeons	15 (9*)	23 (3*)	27 (6*)	35 (7*)	35 (8*)
Apothecaries	18	13	18	13	18
Chemists and Druggists	9	12	15	18	15

	1818	1820	1826	1830	1836
Physicians	25	29	23	20	20
Surgeons	45 (13*)	45 (16*)	47 (15*)	52 (11*)	59 (9*)
Apothecaries	17	17	11	3	3
Chemists and Druggists	15	15	16	29	35

*\*Surgeon-Apothecaries*

The most significant trend would seem to be the sharp increase of surgeons and decrease of apothecaries as the third decade is entered. 'We believe the trend reflected the population increase, the influx of Army and Navy surgeons who settled in Bath after disbandment, and the tendency for apothecaries to turn in increasing numbers to the practice of medicine and for trader-apothecaries to become chemists and druggists, a trend more apparent after the Apothecaries, Act 1815'.

Tracing which of the apothecaries of Bath were attached to the London Guild was difficult. Possibly six apothecaries practising in Bath were Freemen. A trade-card of the Period makes the claim than an apothecary, George King, of 29 Brock Street, was the only licentiate of the Guild of Apothecaries practising in the City.

Listed in the Register of Qualifications of Candidates for the Certificate of Apothecaries, August 10, 1815, to July 29, 1819, is the certificate of:-

*THOMAS KING      Oct. 5, 1815.      Aged 22.*

Certificated to practise in the country  
Apprenticed to Mr. John Pendrill of Bath, Somerset.

An Apothecary for 6 years.

3 courses in Anatomy and Physiology  
1 course in Theory and Practise of Medicine  
1 course in Chemistry  
1 course in Materia Medica

Attendance in Hospital:

12 Months as surgeon pupil at St. George's  
6 Months at Westminster Lying-in Hospital  
12 Months at Bath Eye Infirmary

To confirm the certification of many of the apothecaries practising in Bath during the Regency Periods is not possible, but a number of them, like the physicians and surgeons, became common council-men and held such offices as Justices, Chief Constable, Sheriff and Mayor.

	JUSTICE	CHIEF CONSTABLE	SHERIFF
Physicians	H. Harrington (1812-15) F.R.S.	J.F. Davies (1811,14) F.R.S.	J.F. Davies (1812,16)
		G.S. Gibbes (1817) F.R.S.	G.S. Gibbes (1819)
Surgeons	J. Phillot (1811-21)	W. Tudor (1813)	W. Tudor (1811,15)
	W. Tudor (1822)	G. Kitson (1812,14)	G. Kitson (1813,16)
		G. Norman (1812,1821)	G. Norman (1814)
		T.C. Cam (1822)	T.C. Cam (1815,1817)
Apothecaries	J.H. Spry (1808)	J. Sloper (1812,20)	J. Sloper (1814,22)
		T. Phinn (1818)	T. Phinn (1820)
		J. Morgan (1818,1819)	

A high proportion of shops of apothecaries and druggists were sited in that part of the City which now constitutes the main shopping precinct.

## LOCAL HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS

During the period 1811-20 Bath was able to support a number of charitable institutions providing education, refuge for the poor or care for the sick. Institutions whose primary objective was medical care were the General Hospital (also called The Bath Hospital); the Bath City Infirmary and Dispensary; the Casualty Hospital; the Bath Eye Infirmary and Bellot's Hospital.

THE GENERAL HOSPITAL, founded 1738 and opened 1742, was open to patients from all parts of the United Kingdom (except Bath itself) whose cases were suited to the healing properties of the Bath waters. The plan to provide a hospital for 'genuine and proper' patients gained support because free use of the baths of Bath, given to the 'diseased and impotent poor of England' by Act of Parliament in 1597, had caused the City to become inundated with beggars of various kinds. Many of them, claiming to have come for the use of the waters, were more intent on the purses of the charitable and opulent who congregated at the springs. Among supporters were Dr. Oliver [of biscuit fame] and Beau Nash. Mr. Wood the eminent architect undertook to supervise the project and Mr. Ralph Allen to provide stone and material.

The exclusion of Bath citizens had been directed by a general court in 1743, which reasoned that persons residing in Bath could enjoy the benefit of the waters at moderate expense and be accommodated in their own homes. The legality of the exclusions was repeatedly questioned but not rescinded until 1835.

The hospital admitted approximately 133 patients, who were each required to produce a letter of notification and a parish certificate. None was admitted if found suffering from a cough, fever, spitting of blood, pains in the chest, abscesses or external ulcers. All patients were required to pay 'caution money' to defray the cost of the return journey on discharge, the purchase of clothing in extreme hardship or burial should they die there.

The Apothecary also acted as registrar, and was required to read the Rules and Orders in each ward every Tuesday morning and to accompany the physicians and surgeons on their visits to the wards. Physicians and surgeons visited the Apothecary's shop on the first Monday in each month for the purpose of examining drugs and medicines.

THE BATH CITY INFIRMARY AND DISPENSARY FOR SICK AND POOR originated in 1747 under the title of 'The Pauper Scheme', providing advice and medicines to the sick poor who applied for them at the dispensary or were visited at their own homes. Till 1835 it was the only hospital available to the citizens of Bath.

Following structural improvements in 1792 it was renamed the 'Bath City Infirmary and Dispensary'. In-

patients were required to hold a subscriber's ticket and must not be in receipt of parish pay. The physicians selected the more urgent cases for the Infirmary, the remainder being treated as out-patients in the Dispensary.

Mr. John Crosby, as House Apothecary, was responsible for in-patients during the absence of the physicians, visitation of out-patients, preparation and dispensing of all medicines and was required to report the cases of individual patients to the physicians.

THE CASUALTY HOSPITAL, established in 1788 by Mr. James Norman, a distinguished surgeon of the City, was supported by donations and occasional subscriptions. Provision of the hospital offered prompt and effective relief in serious accidents, which were of frequent occurrence by reason of the extent and rapidity of building programmes in the City, which in turn demanded extensive workings in local quarries.

The City Dispensary and Casualty Hospital were united in 1823 by mutual consent. The new hospital – the 'United' – first admitted patients in 1826.

THE EYE INFIRMARY was instituted in November 1811 for 'the relief of those unfortunate beings labouring under the various diseases to which the eye is subject', a type of disease prevalent as a result of British military campaigns, particularly in Egypt.

Out-patient treatment was provided on three selected days of the week and in-patient facilities were available for urgent cases, and the Hospital Committee made considerable efforts to alert the public against 'the nefarious practice of itinerant quacks who by misapplication of powerful drugs could achieve disastrous results'.

BELLOT'S HOSPITAL, named after its founder Thomas Bellot, originated in the reign of James I for the use of twelve of the poorest strangers coming to Bath for the benefit of the waters. An annuity of £8 bequeathed to the guardians of the charity (Bath Corporation) provided for payment of a physician to advise poor patients.

*The authors' paper also presented profiles of some local celebrities of the period.*

## Praise for L.G.M.

'French pharmaceutical historians will be specially pleased that their colleague and friend Matthews has thought of celebrating the 150th anniversary of the first French Codex, published in August 1818. That in excellent terms and in one of the greatest English-language pharmaceutical journals'. — Pierre Julien in *Revue d'Histoire de la Pharmacie*.

# Pneumatic Medicine

F.F. CARTWRIGHT

(Anaesthetist, Kings College Hospital, London)

THE science, if it may be called so, of pneumatic medicine reached its greatest popularity in Bristol and Bath. Its basis was a belief that the lungs might provide a safer and more easily controlled means of introducing remedies than the stomach or rectum. Its practice depended upon the possibility that, while atmospheric air is best suited to the respiration of a healthy individual, an alteration in composition of the air might prove beneficial in disease.

The constituents of common air and the physiology of respiration had both been studied in the remote times of Greek and Chinese medicine, and haphazardly since the sixteenth century in Western Europe, but not until the latter half of the eighteenth century did continuing research begin to accumulate the facts that form the basis of modern knowledge.

In 1755 Black showed that limestone and chalk lose weight when burned to quicklime, and do not, as had been previously imagined, gain weight by the addition of phlogiston. From the burning of chalk Black collected a gas which, appearing to the eye to be the same as common air, yet displayed very different properties. He gave it the name 'fixed air', because it was fixed in calcareous matter and could be liberated by the action of heat or acid.

Black's experiments were carried on by Joseph Priestley who, living close to a large brewery at Calne in Wiltshire, found that vats of fermenting wort were covered with a layer of the 'fixed air' to a depth of 9–12 in. Priestley devoted the greater part of his spare time from 1767 onwards to a study of carbon dioxide, going on to consider such airs or gases as might readily be obtained by the action of heat or acids upon various substances, both mineral and vegetable, producing nitric acid and two forms of 'inflammable air' (*light* from acid upon metal and *heavy* from vegetables putrefying in water or from the action of water upon red hot charcoal). In 1772, when submitting iron nails to the action of nitric oxide, Priestley found that the gas, which previously would not support combustion or life, would now not only support combustion, as did ordinary air, but would cause a brightly burning flame to

enlarge, and a mouse placed in the jar to die quickly. He gave to the gas the name 'dephlogisticated nitrous air'. It was, in fact, nitrous oxide heavily contaminated with nitrogen and residual nitric oxide.

So nitrous oxide started upon a strange, eventful history that was, in the end, to bring mankind the benefit of anaesthesia. Priestley's discovery influenced his greatest work of all, the discovery of oxygen, which he first prepared by heating nitrate of potash in 1771. He formed the opinion that it was 'dephlogisticated nitrous air', probably produced from impurities in the mercuric oxide, but in October 1774, using a sample of mercuric oxide of undoubted purity, which he had obtained from Lavoisier, he was surprised to find that a similar gas was produced. After many experiments he came to the conclusion, in March 1775, that his new gas would still support life or combustion when it had been reduced by five equal measures of nitric oxide. He gave it the name 'dephlogisticated air'. Priestley's obstinate adherence to the phlogiston theory inhibited him from going further, but Lavoisier, having learned of the new gas, was able to use oxygen as the basis of a new theory of chemistry and life.

British medical thought at the time was mainly influenced by a physician named Edmund Goodwyn, who in 1788 published his small book *The Connexion of Life with Respiration*. Goodwyn proved that circulation and respiration are independent, and that the blood flow in the pulmonary vessels does not stop during expiration but continues through all phases of the respiratory cycle. Like Priestley and Lavoisier Goodwyn believed that the purpose of the lungs was to separate oxygen from the air and to add charcoal, in the form of carbon dioxide, from the blood. Hence the blood itself underwent a chemical change in the lungs, the purpose of which was to add a stimulating substance (oxygen), which excited the action of the heart and hence the health of the whole body. Thus to Goodwyn asphyxia was not mechanical deprivation of air: it was a disease caused by lack of the necessary stimulant whereby the health of the body was maintained. If too much oxygen were separated from the air, such overstimulation might also result in disease. The concept of too little or too great stimulation formed the basis of pneumatic medicine.

But the gases were already in the pharmacopeia. First report of the use of Black's fixed air or carbon dioxide, advised on account of its alleged anti-putrescent qualities, was from Dr. David MacBride, who suggested that the gas might be employed for preserving water on board ship as a preventive of scurvy. MacBride proposed that ships should carry supplies of malt to make wort from which carbon dioxide might be collected. That was in fact done by Captain Cook on *Resolution*, apparently with satisfactory results.

In 1770 Priestley advised that casks of ships' water

should be strongly impregnated with carbon dioxide before stowage, and two years later suggested that such water might be taken in certain types of illness or injected into the rectum. William Hey of Leeds followed Priestley's advice, contriving an apparatus by means of which a steady gentle stream of carbon dioxide could be passed into the rectum through an enema pipe. His typhus-fever patient made a good recovery.

Dr. John Ewart of Bath, who twice applied open bladders of the gas, fixed with adhesive strapping, to fungating cancers of the breast, claimed that one patient was cured, the second much relieved.

In the middle 1770s Thomas Percival used a true inhalational method for diseases of the lungs, advising his patients to inhale the 'steam' from an effervescing mixture of chalk or potash and vinegar. Percival claimed that, in phthisis, the fever was abated and the expectorations less offensive. He admitted, however, that in no case had there been a cure.

Until after 1790 the only gas to be used in medicine was carbon dioxide, though William Hey had endeavoured to introduce nitric oxide into the rectum of a dog on one occasion – with unfortunate results to both himself and the dog. With the single exception of some experimental work on Aqua Mephitica Alkalina, all treatment with carbon dioxide has been entirely empirical. The man who endeavoured to provide a scientific basis for pneumatic medicine was Thomas Beddoes, who should be remembered as the father of preventive medicine and a pioneer of psychiatry. Beddoes foresook an academic career in chemistry for the practice of medicine, settling in the Hotwells district of Clifton, Bristol. A hot spring, impregnated with minerals that flowed from Clifton Hill into the Avon Gorge, was declared by Bristol physicians to be equal, if not superior, to the waters of Bath. It drew an ever increasing number of middle-class invalids who could not afford the luxurious life of the older spa.

In the Autumn of 1793 Beddoes gained the help of the distinguished engineer James Watt who, desperate to find some hopeful remedy for the illness of his son Gregory, put him under Beddoes' care. Watt also designed simpler, more efficient apparatus and collaborated in writing *Considerations on the Medicinal Powers and on the Production of Factitious Airs*, first published in October 1794.

Part of the essential basis of pneumatic medicine depended upon the belief that common air, a compound of nitrogen and oxygen, underwent chemical change in the lungs to release oxygen. Beddoes believed that diseases of increased irritability must be treated by depressant drugs but that the stimulant of 'heightened atmosphere' was indicated in those of decreased irritability.

The various gases in use at this clinic were given in doses of about a quart or two quarts, mixed with air and

inhaled from oilskin breathing-bags. Oxygen was given for such diseases as indolent ulcers, scrofula, herpes, chlorosis, debility and scurvy. Asthmatics were also treated with oxygen. 'Lowered air' (air from which oxygen had been removed by passing it over red hot charcoal) was favoured in treating croup and catarrh. Air mixed with hydrogen, carbon dioxide and hydrocarbonate had each its indications.

Beddoes aspired to a hospital equipped with air-tight rooms, in which patients could be submitted to the gases for long periods. Meanwhile he suggested that consumptives should keep in their bedrooms a cow tethered so that her head peered through the bed-curtains a few inches above the patient's face, so as to produce in its exhaled breath the largest possible quantity of carbon dioxide.

For five years Beddoes busied himself in raising the necessary funds for his institution, and by the summer of 1797 had sufficient funds to put his idea, at least in part, into practice. He started to recruit a small staff of assistants and in April 1798, impressed by the reasoning in a paper by a young Cornishman, Humphry Davy, engaged him as superintendent of his institution and as his medical apprentice and trainee. Davy, however, concentrated on laboratory research.

Following up a 1797 discovery by the French chemist Berthollet that a much purer sample of nitrous oxide could be prepared by heating ammonium nitrate, Davy for the first time breathed a more or less pure sample of the gas and found that it had a remarkable effect upon him. Nitrous oxide, unaccompanied by any pain stimulus, usually produces a pleasurable feeling. Davy proved that it could also act as a sedative and analgesic. While he was writing a trial essay on the pleasures and pains of sense, the idea suddenly struck him of a practical use for his strange gas. He scribbled '*REMOVING PHYSICAL PAIN OF OPERATIONS*', thus making the first suggestion of allaying the pain of surgery by a practicable agent, in fact of anaesthesia. So far as is known only two men were impressed: Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the poet, and William Allen, lecturer in chemistry at Guy's Hospital [and, of course, one of the founders of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain]. Allen is said to have prophesied that the whole of surgery would one day be made painless by the gas.

## Please write

The editor believes there may be members who could make readable contributions to this paper but are a bit shy of going into print. No need to be. If you have anything in writing, even if only as notes, let him have the chance of deciding.

# Significance of the Apothecaries' Act, 1815

S. HOLLOWAY

(Department of Sociology, University of Leicester)

SIR George Clark, in his recent authoritative history of the Royal College of Physicians, calls the Apothecaries' Act of 1815 'the first step in medical reform', initiating 'the regularising of the position of the family doctors, the thousands of useful men who were the first-line troops, the great majority of practitioners'.

In 1933 Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson wrote that it would not be astonishing to find 'this remarkable Act' among the accomplishments of the reformed Parliament, 'but it stands somewhat isolated in the legislation of the preceding period'. Dr. F.N.L. Poynter also saw the Act as a triumph for reform. Similar views were expressed by other medical historians, and Sir Zachary Cope, Professor Armytage, and Carr-Saunders and Wilson all relate the growth of medical schools to the stimulus afforded by the Act.

Contemporaries in the 19th century were less impressed. *The Lancet* held in 1826 that, instead of being beneficial either to the public or exclusively to the members of the medical profession, the Act 'was only calculated to retard the progress of the most useful of all sciences and to fill the coffers of a herd of ignorant pharmacopoliasts'. Another

commentator in 1833 regarded the Act as 'one of the most impudent pieces of legislation that have been perpetrated in modern times'.

In Dr. Holloway's belief those contemporary opinions even if vitriolically expressed, might well be nearer the truth than the judgments of present-day historians. 'In my view, the Apothecaries' Act sought to perpetuate the obsolete hierarchical structure of the medical profession; it placed the general practitioner under the supervision of a London mercantile company, and tied him to a system of education more suited to a trade than to a liberal profession; it failed to protect him from the competition of the unqualified and did nothing to change the degrading system by which he was remunerated. Above all it deterred many of the more highly qualified members of the profession from practising as general practitioners'. The Act was at least a temporary triumph for the College of Physicians.

Agitation for an Act to regulate medical practice in the United Kingdom, and in particular to control the practice of apothecaries throughout England and Wales, began as early as 1793. Many reforms were advocated, several bills drafted, numerous petitions and counter-petitions presented and innumerable amendments introduced. At last a Bill, prepared by the Society of Apothecaries under the patronage of the College of Physicians, was submitted for consideration by the Legislature, and after much revision, rushed through a depleted House of Commons in the closing phases of a particularly active session.

At that time the majority of town apothecaries and practically all those in the country attended patients of the poor and lower middle-class, prescribing and supplying medicines to them. They also practised surgery. By 1815, the surgeon-apothecaries were 'the most numerous part of the Profession in Town and Country'.

While the apothecary was encroaching upon the domain of the physician, the chemist was taking over the dispensing activities of the apothecary, and even beginning to prescribe over the counter. In pamphlets published during the second half of the eighteenth century the chemists were accused of selling and using impure foreign drugs, refuse, dross, and adulterated articles in compounding prescriptions, and leaving out of expensive and complicated formulae all the costly ingredients; the apothecaries of 'monstrous profits', incompetence, illiterate character and dishonest practices.

The physicians were accused of prescribing vast amounts of medicines for the benefit of the apothecaries, who in turn were recommending only such physicians as were in the habit of 'multiplying their nauseous superfluities'.

To counter growing competition from both the chemist and druggist and the uneducated apothecary, the 'properly educated' apothecaries appealed to the government to create a monopoly in their favour. In the spring of 1794,

several leading London apothecaries formed themselves into a society with the aim of investigating and remedying the 'evils' of the selling of pharmaceutic preparations and compounding of physicians' prescriptions by chemists and druggists and the lack of a competent jurisdiction' within the profession itself. The Committee of a new 'General Pharmaceutical Association of Great Britain' undertook to urge every authentically educated practitioner of pharmacy to join and to complete a questionnaire. It was ascertained that druggists had increased fourfold in the space of ten or twelve years and, though totally ignorant of medical science, had issued prescriptions and even reduced fractures.

Addressed by the committee the College of Physicians replied in polite and encouraging terms, but the Society of Apothecaries opposed the Association's proposals. When, on behalf of the Association, Sir William Dolben presented a petition to Parliament on February 6, 1795, the Apothecaries' Company acted to secure that the consideration of the petition was indefinitely postponed, and the General Pharmaceutical Association subsequently died away.

However, demands continued to be put to the government to raise the standard of entry into the profession, prohibit unqualified persons from practising, and establish a body to regulate and control the profession throughout the country. The General Pharmaceutical Association had aimed to secure for the educated apothecary a monopoly in compounding and dispensing medicines. But the apothecary's future lay rather in the general practice of medicine. The chemists and druggists, destined to take over pharmaceutical functions, were putting their house in order and united for their own protection.

In the long run the interests of the chemists and the apothecaries were reciprocal. The status of the apothecary as a general practitioner of medicine would not be secure until there were sufficient chemists and druggists to compound and dispense the nation's medicines, a state of affairs that could only exist in a society numerous and wealthy enough to afford so precise a division of labour. By the end of the eighteenth century such a society was beginning to emerge.

The price of the apothecary's drugs appeared exorbitant because he still could not charge a fee for attendance. His most urgent need was for a body to organise and control general practitioners. The College of Physicians, the Corporation of Surgeons, and the Society of Apothecaries were merely guilds with powers to regulate their members resident in London. In practice the College of Physicians could rarely enforce that authority, and had no power whatever 'to control the practice of physic in England at a greater distance than seven miles from London'. The Corporation of Surgeons and Society of Apothecaries were even more restricted.

The College of Physicians advocated a straightforward extension of its powers to cover the whole of medical practice throughout England and Wales, without mention of any alteration in the chaotic system of medical education. Under College policy the physician was to remain paramount. Beneath him, in descending order, were to be placed the surgeon, the apothecary, and the chemist.

Among the essentials of a plan drawn up by the Associated Faculty of Physicians were that physicians should be graduates of a university in the United Kingdom and have studied physic for five years; that surgeons should be licensed by one of the corporations of surgeons after serving a five-year apprenticeship and studying anatomy and surgery for two years in a medical school; that apothecaries should have studied physic in a school for one year after serving a five-year apprenticeship, and that chemists and druggists should serve a five-year apprenticeship. A revised Bill, drawn up largely by Dr. Edward Harrison, provided for the establishment of a medical register on which the names of all those qualified as physicians, surgeons, midwives, apothecaries, veterinary practitioners, chemists, druggists, and vendors of medicines would be entered. Each person on the register was to pay an annual fee, and only those on the register were to be allowed to practice.

Harrison eventually gave up his attempt to reform the profession, but meanwhile the Association of Apothecaries and Surgeon-Apothecaries was reviving the programme of the earlier General Pharmaceutical Association. A projected Bill drawn up by a London committee provided for the establishment of a general superintending body comprising the chief officials of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons and the Society of Apothecaries, and twenty-four general practitioners. When the Bill received its first reading in the House of Commons the Royal Colleges openly opposed it while the chemists and druggists, alarmed at the prospect of being controlled by their old rivals the apothecaries, passed resolutions condemning it.

In an effort to conciliate the opposition the Associated Apothecaries determined to expunge from the Bill everything affecting the compounding chemist and druggist, and to abandon the proposal to erect a medical school. On 4 September, 1813, the following principles were laid down as a basis for a new Bill:

- (1) All apothecaries, surgeon-apothecaries, and practitioners of midwifery to be examined and receive certificates.
- (2) Candidates for examination to have been apprenticed for five years and to produce evidence of a sufficient medical education.
- (3) Army and Navy officers to be exempt from examination, except in midwifery.
- (4) Assistants and midwives to be examined.
- (5) The privileges of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons to remain unaltered.

When the resolutions were forwarded to the College of Physicians, College of Surgeons, and Society of Apothecaries, the last-named replied that only in conjunction with the Royal College of Physicians could they enter into measures for any improvement in pharmacy. The College of Physicians advised that the words of the original Charter should be preserved in the Bill, and that it should include a clause preventing apothecaries from refusing to make up physicians' prescriptions or deliberately making them up incorrectly. By this time the session was too far advanced for the Bill even to be introduced.

On February 27, 1815, permission was granted to 'the Master Wardens, and Society of the art and mystery of Apothecaries of the City of London' to bring in their Bill. The College of Physicians made it known that they would oppose because the Bill did not contain the amendment the College required. The druggists withdrew their opposition when the Apothecaries' Company inserted a clause exempting chemists from operation of the Act. The Bill passed the Commons, but the Lords made so many alterations that the Commons decided to abandon it, though giving leave to introduce a new Bill. That new Bill, after a remarkably rapid passage through the Legislature, received the Royal Assent on July 11, 1815.

The reformers' reaction was not of triumph but of dismay. They saw the Act as the frustration rather than the culmination of their ideas. The explanation lies in the actions of the College of Physicians. From being openly hostile the College suddenly announced in January 1814, that it would have no objection to an Act for regulating the practice of apothecaries 'provided that the powers therein contained be vested in the Society of Apothecaries as established by the Charter of King James'. That Charter, which separated the apothecaries from the grocers, had three aspects which appealed to the Physicians. It emphasized the humble origins of the Apothecaries' Society; it stressed both the guild and trading activities of the Company; and above all it placed the Society under the tutelage of the College of Physicians. The College had further insisted upon a clause making it an offence for apothecaries to refuse to compound physicians' prescriptions or to deliberately compound them incorrectly. The apothecary was thus reminded 'that..... his office is only to be the physician's cooke'. Finally, by insisting upon the controversial apprenticeship clause in the Act, the College effectively quashed any pretensions of the apothecaries to become a learned profession. So the Act as ultimately passed tended to degrade rather than to elevate the rank and file of the profession. The general practitioner was subjected to the direct control of a London mercantile company, still largely engaged in the wholesale drug trade, and to the indirect supervision of the College of Physicians.

Extension to the whole of England and Wales of the powers of the Apothecaries' Society came suddenly and



unexpectedly. The Company had had greatness thrust upon it by the doubtful patronage of the College of Physicians as part of a general policy of aggrandizement by the metropolitan medical corporations.

'The object of the Act', in the words of Justice Park in May 1828, 'was to keep the business of apothecary distinct from the other branches of the profession'. There were 'four degrees in the medical profession, Physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and chemists and druggists', and the 1815 Act 'has drawn the distinction between the various departments of the art with great precision..... Each is protected in his own branch, and neither must interfere with the province of the other'.

But though the Act purported to be concerned with regulating the practice of apothecaries, it contained no clear definition of their functions and duties. That was left to be given by the Courts.

The only guidance within the Act was contained in the fifth clause: that 'it is the duty of every person using or exercising the art and mystery of an apothecary to prepare with exactness and to dispense such medicines as may be directed for the sick by any physician lawfully licensed'.

*The Lancet*, in 1826, argued that the Apothecaries' Company could not prosecute practitioners for attending the sick and supplying medicines to them. That interpretation, if logical and valid, was not the view of the Apothecaries' Society nor did it receive support from the Courts. In 1820 Justice Williams defined an apothecary as a practitioner who mixed and prepared medicines prescribed by a physician, or by any other person, or by the apothecary himself, and in 1834 Justice Cresswell defined an apothecary as 'one who professes to judge of internal disease by its symptoms and applies himself to cure that disease by medicine'.

Under those interpretations, all persons who wished to engage legally in general practice in England and Wales were obliged to become licentiates of the Society of Apothecaries. That aroused great resentment among the rank and file of the profession, especially as another clause carried with it the implication that the general practitioner was a tradesman, not a member of a learned profession.

The interpretation also meant that no doctor in medicine of any University could practice as an apothecary in England or Wales unless he had been examined and approved of by the Society of Apothecaries of London yet, when he presented himself for examination, he was told he could not be examined unless he had been for five years an apprentice to an apothecary. Chief sufferers were the Scottish-trained physicians, many of whom had established themselves as general practitioners in England. In 1833 a Scottish physician was indicted and convicted under the Act.

The druggists were permitted to carry on their practice

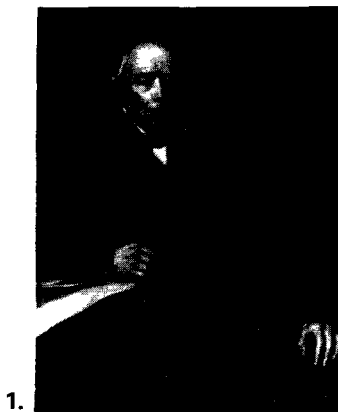
unmolested for nearly thirty years after the passing of the Act. But in 1841 a chemist was indicted and convicted for attending the sick and giving them medicines contrary to the provisions of the 1815 statute. Another thirty-five years elapsed before it was held that a chemist who suggested medicine, made it up, and sold it to customers who came to his shop asking him what was good for their ailments, was liable to penalties for practising as an apothecary.

But though the Act deterred many of the more highly qualified medical men in Britain from acting as general practitioners, it failed to prevent 'wholly ignorant and utterly incompetent' persons from endangering 'the health and lives of the community'. For practising as apothecaries in England and Wales without licence the Society of Apothecaries prosecuted 86 people between 1820 and 1832. That the penal clauses of the Apothecaries' Act had no appreciable effect in eliminating the unqualified or in protecting the qualified practitioners was shown by the Census of 1851 and admitted by the Society of Apothecaries in 1844.

A major obstacle to the attainment by the apothecary of full professional status was that he was permitted by law to charge only for medicines, not for attendance. Hence the custom arose for the apothecary, on sending in his bill, to leave a blank in which the patient inserted a sum of money which, in his estimation, would be a suitable remuneration for attendance. That position was changed when, in 1829, Chief Justice Best held that an apothecary might charge for his attendance, provided he made no charge for the medicines furnished. In the following year Lord Tenterden ruled that an apothecary might recover for reasonable attendance as well as for medicines.

It is claimed that, since the foundation of regular medical schools in London and the provinces dates from the period immediately after 1815, the schools must therefore have been brought into existence by the Act. But the Society of Apothecaries, though it endeavoured to maintain a fair standard of general education, was rather easily satisfied, while the apprenticeship clause of the 1815 Act frustrated all its attempts to raise the level of general education of candidates for their diploma. Moreover, only members of the Company of ten years' standing were eligible for appointment as examiners. Thus those who were only licentiates of the Society were excluded from the examining board as were all other members of the profession.

There is thus little reason to attribute the extension of medical education and subsequent improvement in status of the general practitioner solely, or even primarily, to the influence of the Society of Apothecaries and the College of Surgeons. The emergence of regular medical schools was due to more fundamental compulsions within the structure of society itself.



3. *The DISSOLUTION*

## Portraits, Paintings and Caricatures

A. LOTHIAN SHORT

Strictly the “golden age” of English caricature was rather before the Regency period. Examples are given of cartoons with a medical or pharmaceutical slant. Of the two portraits, that of William Allen is from a painting and that of William Pitt is believed unique in

being, not a caricature but a portrait study by Gillray. Allen, mentioned in one of the papers, was of course a founder member of the Pharmaceutical Society; he is pilloried in “The Modern Alchymist”, reproduced below.

### HUMMING ALL THE TRADE IS - OR



### THE MODERN ALCHYMIIST.

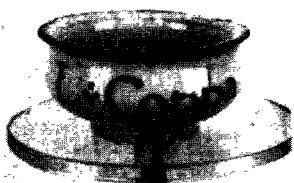
1. William Allen F.R.S. (1770 – 1843) from an oil painting in the Pharmaceutical Society's Council chamber

2. William Pitt the younger (1759 – 1806)  
[National Portrait Gallery]

3. Pitt is the central figure of a satire (14 x 10 in.) by James Gillray (1757 – 1815) on the Dissolution of Parliament announced on May 19, 1796. The caricature appeared only two days later.

4. "The Modern Alchymist" (9 x 12½ in.) is a lampoon by T. Jones (1789 – 1886) on William Allen's third marriage. It shows the bride, a wealthy widow, being distilled in a retort labelled "Matter o' Money".

Small delft pot labelled "L. Coppa" found in Bath, 1901, 20ft. below ground on site of Spears' slaughter-house. An Italian ware-houseman, Coppa, was formerly in business near the Pump Room.



### METALLIC TRACTORS.

"Metallic tractors" (6½ x 8½ in.) portrays Gillray's jibe at Perkin's Metallic Tractors, the uselessness of which was demonstrated by the Bath physician John Haygarth (1740 – 1827) pioneer epidemiologist in England.



### The Porter Brewer and his Family - or the Modern Druggist.

*Dedicated to those whom it may concern -  
A Brewer must brew, and in making of Ale, When Quassia and Indicus Cocculus fail, Still rather than stop, he'll continue to brew  
A Caldron of Mischief to Kino, Church and you*

"The Porter Brewer and his Family - or the Modern Druggist" (9¼ x 13 in.) by I. Cruikshank (1756 – 1811) bears the legend 'A Brewer must brew and in making of Ale, When Quassia and Indicus Cocculus fail, Still rather than stop, he'll continue to brew, A Caldron of Mischief to Kino, Church and you'.

George III imposed penalties on mixing with beer vitriol, quassia, cocculus indicus, grains of paradise, etc.

# Annual Meeting and Officers

MEMBERS appear well satisfied with the way the Society's affairs are being conducted for, at the annual meeting, held during the Bath weekend, the committee members were re-elected, though the constitution would have allowed three to be replaced.

The chairman, Mr. L.G. Matthews, gave the information that the Pharmaceutical Society's grant, without which the Society for the History of Pharmacy could not hope to remain solvent, had been reduced to £200, and



Dr. MELVIN P. EARLES, who takes over as the Society's President, is admirably equipped for office. Four years after graduating as a pharmacist he gained an M.Sc. degree in the History and Philosophy of Science and in 1962 was awarded his Doctorate for a thesis entitled 'Studies in the Development of Experimental Pharmacology in the 18th and early 19th Centuries.' A Senior Lecturer at Chelsea, Dr. Earles is a member of the Board of Studies, History and Philosophy of Science, University of London, and a Visiting Professor of the History of Pharmacy, University of Wisconsin, U.S.A. He is married to a pharmacist and they have one teenage daughter.

Miss M.A. Burr suggested that the regional meetings that were proposed to be organised might be made the occasion for publicity to increase its membership.

Mr. S.J. Woodward thought that the subjects dealt with had shown rather a nostalgia for the distant past. He would like the interpretation of "history" to include topics much nearer the present era, certainly coming into the second half of the nineteenth century.

The chairman, accepting the suggestion as something the committee could well consider, reminded members that Mr. Woodward had been compelled, owing to pressure of other business, to give up the editorship of the Society's journal. His successor, Mr. Owen Waller, would welcome material suitable for publication in its columns or suggestions as to authors and topics.

On June 3, at the first committee meeting the annual meeting, the President (Mr. L.G. Matthews) and Vice-president (Professor George Trease) resigned from office, holding that it was to the long-term advantage of the Society that there should be a rotation of office-bearers. In their place the committee unanimously elected Dr. M.P. Earles *President* and Dr. T.D. Whittet *Vice-president*. The *Secretary* (Dr. J.K. Crellin) and *Treasurer* (Mr. J.C. Bloomfield) were re-elected.

## A new privilege for members

FIRST issue of the Society's *Transactions* recently made its appearance. Others will follow.

The *Transactions* are intended to present (a) such papers, read at the Society's meetings, as are considered to make an important contribution to the printed records of pharmacy and the pharmaceutical sciences and (b) other material of comparable merit. The contributions must be in the view of expert assessors, outstanding in scholarship and historical accuracy. There is no automatic acceptance of every paper read before the Society.

The publication, 60 pp. between semi-stiff light blue covers, is open to anybody to buy at its post-paid price of 16s., but members are privileged: to them the price is 12s. 6d. So do not delay in sending your order (with the necessary cheque or postal order) to the Society's secretary at 17 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.

Editor of the series is Dr M.P. Earles, the incoming president (alongside). In the first issue are two monographs. Margery Rowe and G.E. Trease jointly contribute a fully annotated study of an Exeter apothecary active in the period 1560 to 1600, while Dr John Cule discusses "The Diagnosis, Care and Treatment of Leprosy in Wales and the Border in the Middle Ages." (He read a paper on the subject at the Society's 1967 conference at Cardiff).



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Contributions to the Editor: Owen H. Waller, F.P.S. · 17 Bloomsbury Square · London · W.C.1.

## TWO YORKSHIRE OCCASIONS

### 1. Hospital Pharmacy

The now customary Conference-time meeting of the Society was held in 1970 at Leeds University on September 15, and the size of the audience, and the volume of questions, testified to the progress the Society is making in interesting British pharmacists in their ancestry and development.

In the first paper, "A Life of Toil – the Hospital Apothecary of the 18th and early 19th Centuries", Dr. J. H. Woodward (Sheffield University) said he had come to a knowledge of hospital apothecaries through researches into the fate of hospital patients. After remarking that, in the records, apothecaries were usually only mentioned for their delinquencies, the speaker described the onerous nature of the apothecary's duties.

Being resident while the physicians and the surgeons attended only twice a week, he was the main hospital contact for the patient. He performed bleedings and applied clysters for the male patients. In some institutions he was also secretary and general trouble shooter, having to deal with nurses' misbehaviour or keep sightseers from trespassing in the hospital grounds.

He was responsible for purchasing drugs and dispensing and answerable for those activities to a special drugs committee as well as to the hospital governors.

So that the hospital's financial liabilities should be kept low he was required to be unmarried and, ranking below physician and surgeon in the hospital hierarchy, he was paid far less than they (the salary of the first resident apothecary at Leeds General Infirmary was £15 15s. per annum). His sole hope of an increase was a bonus for faithful service.

The second paper, given by Mr W.H. Boorman (Group

Pharmacist, North Hampshire Group of Hospitals) was on Hospital Pharmacy from the 18th Century to the Present Day". Interpreting "pharmacy" as being broadly the supply of drugs, Mr. Boorman began with the house apothecary. His prospects remained unaffected by the Apothecaries' Act, 1815, and his duties became more numerous. Eventually his task was lightened by the appointment of skilled technicians who, in their turn, gained no benefit from the founding of the Pharmaceutical Society in 1841, for the Society was preoccupied with trade.

Hospital pharmacy, organised on similar lines in most voluntary hospitals, was always low in status, reaching its nadir at the end of the 19th century. In 1897 (by which time the Society had been functioning for close on 60 years) the medicines at one hospital were being prepared by porters and others, without weighing or measuring, and hypodermic solutions were being issued in ribbed hexagon bottles with bar corks.

Mr Boorman stressed how important and valuable it was that those negotiating better conditions for hospital pharmacy should be aware of its historical perspective.

In the third paper, a review of "Hospital Pharmacies and Literature" by Mr Eric Gaskell (librarian at the Wellcome Institute), the speaker concentrated mainly on 18th-century publications. He examined in some detail Henry Banyer's "Pharmacopoeia Pauperum" (1719), showing it to be an attempt to cash in on a market created by John Quincy's "Complete English Dispensatory". Banyer's emphasis was on cheapness, but his formulae were given the cachet of attribution to well known physicians.

Other publications dealt with by Mr Gaskell included the pharmacopoeia, dated 1747, of the Portuguese Jewish Hospital in London, Robert Poole's "Physical Vade Mecum" (1741) and 19th-century pharmacopoeias of hospitals in London, Leeds and Bristol, concluding with Peter Squire's, published 1863, for thirteen hospitals.

## 2. Medical and Pharmaceutical Glass

THE Society's autumn week-end meeting, 1970, was held in York, a "home" of pharmaceutical glass, and dealt with that subject. It opened with a reception the evident success of which was in large measure due to the excellent organisation put in by Mr and Mrs G. Hutton.

On the Sunday morning three papers were presented. Dr R.M.S. Mc Conaghey (Editor of the *Journal of General Practitioners*) spoke on "Infant and Invalid Feeding", which in modern times has been principally from glass containers. His paper included a comprehensive survey of nursing aids (breast shields and pumps and collecting glasses) and of feeding vessels, from the horn of milk suspended above the baby's cradle, the pap boat and the bubbly pot to the Victorian precursors of the modern glass bottle.

Some of the older pharmacists among members of the speaker's audience recalled the curious feeding bottles that lingered on from the 19th century into their own experience.

Dr Mc Conaghey made reference to the 18th-century fashion of putting the child out to nurse, and the invention of proprietary artificial foods (such as Liebig's) and of condensed milk, as influences upon the increase of artificial feeding; and gave examples of the many ingenious bottles devised and produced during the 19th century.

Slides screened during the reading of the paper showed the elegant beauty of many of the utensils, but clearly demonstrated one on Dr Mc Conaghey's points, namely that, as it was impossible to clean them, there was often "death in the pot".

Miss D.A. Hutton (a committee member of the Society) presented a paper on "Cordial Chests". She said it was a little difficult, "in these sober days of the National Health Service", to appreciate what vast amounts of strong alcohol were formerly taken on medical advice. She herself had had some hesitation even in believing that the small group of cordial chests in the Wellcome collection could have any medical or pharmaceutical significance until she found a brief history of their contents, and discovered the place that cordials had held in the practice of physick until the mid-18th century.

"Cordials" covered any drug that produced a sensation of warmth and well-being and appeared to have some action on the heart, the precise definition varying according to the system of medicine fashionable at the time. The Aristotelian cordial aimed to increase the

effervescence of spirits from heart to brain, while the volatile particle of Newtonian cordial was held to penetrate the sluggish mass of blood, correcting lethargy and quickening the pulse.

Primarily the aromatic drugs, herbs and spices, cordials were administered in most dosage forms, from the simplest of powders and aqueous infusions to the elaborate electuaries and sophisticated juleps and pills of the 17th and 18th centuries. Perhaps their most popular form was the compound water and spirit, a potent distillate of herbs and brandy, first introduced when the Salernian School discovered alcoholic distillation in the 12th century.

The strong waters soon became associated with occult and sympathetic virtues, distillation being one of the major transmutation processes in the search for the philosophers' stone. Many thought they had found in strong alcohol the solvent that should convert the philosophers' stone into the Elixir of Life, so France's brandy was *Aqua Vitae*, and Scotland's usquebaugh (whisky) was likewise the "water of life". By the 16th century aqua vitae was established as almost a universal cure-all, strengthening the heart, for example, in bubonic plague.

The 17th-century cordial waters were recommended as restoratives to refresh the spirits in swoonings, correct cold distemper of the stomach, and help cure the "cold affectations of the brains and nerves", such as epilepsy, palsy and apoplexy. The doctors' recommendation to their patients to get drunk at least twice a month, "to restore the fibres of the stomach", was most popular.

Until the beginning of the 17th century the preparation of aqua vitae and cordials seems to have been mainly in the hands of the apothecaries. In this country there were specialised distillers, but too few to establish their own city company. The apothecaries of London, in their founding charter of 1617, claimed a monopoly of all distilled (strong?) waters. That certainly led to disputes until, during the following year, the distillers procured their own Charter under the patronage of the King's physician, and the apothecaries had then to content themselves with the sole right to prepare the distilled waters of the London Pharmacopoeia and such others as physicians might prescribe.

During one of the innumerable quarrels with the physicians, the apothecaries were bitterly attacked for encroaching on medical practice, neglecting their proper business and filling their shops with the easily prepared hot cordials, brandy juleps and treacle boles.

Against that background of medical acknowledgement, and the popular belief in strong cordials as valuable medicines, the cordial chest seems a suitable companion to the better known medicine chest. The rare references in the literature of the period to cordial chests are all connected with travellers' equipment.

Finally the Society's secretary, Dr. J.K. Crellin, gave the results, with illustrations on the screen, of a survey prepared jointly by himself and Mr J.R. Scott on "Pharmaceutical Glass".

"Glasses for watters" and "water glasses", he said, had figured in some 16th–17th century inventories of apothecaries' establishments. That the use of pharmacy glassware was widespread in the early eighteenth century was further suggested by Daniel Defoe's statement in 1727 that "fine flint glass, including ... apothecaries' and chymists' glass phials, retorts, &c ... (is made at) London, Bristol, Sturbridge, Nottingham, Sheffield (and) Newcastle".

Numerous explanations had been advanced as to the origin of the carboy of coloured water once prominently featured in the windows of pharmacists as a symbol of their craft. It would appear, from the apparent absence of any reference to them in 17th or early 18th century literature, that they became popular only in the 18th century. The reason was probably that, in London in the second half of the century, new shopfronts with panes of glass 12 x 16 in. were being introduced, allowing greater potential for display. Illustrations from the first half of the 19th century showed windows within which were specie jars and carboys, one per window. Many of the cylindrical jars might have been used for storage – "an extension of shop shelving". Such storage containers were in general of green glass, more rarely amethyst in colour, 12 to 16 inches high and of around 1 gall. capacity.

Principal maker of specie jars seems to have been the York Glass Works. Decorations offered from York included the Arms of the Apothecaries' and Pharmaceutical Societies, St. George and the Dragon, plume of feathers, "new scroll" and "scroll with lines". Fairly common on specie jars were the names of the wholesalers who sold them, including Evans and Maw. By 1785, show globes were even being exported to America, and the New York *Daily Advertiser* for October 5, 1785, recorded "large show globes, specie and stopper bottles being received from Bristol".

Earliest illustration of the pear-shaped show globe was in a catalogue issued in 1837 by Jacobson & Sons. Also featured in that catalogue were two large specie jars, one bearing the Royal Arms and the other a scrolled label for magnesia.

The long-necked ("swan-necked") carboy came into popularity during yet another "revolution" in shopfront design in the 1830's to 40's. Charles Dickens noted the change first among linen-draper and haberdashers. The symptoms included an "inordinate love of plate glass and a passion for gas lights and gilding... It then burst out again among the chemists; the symptoms were the same, with the addition of a strong desire to stick the Royal

Arms over the shop-door, and a great rage for mahogany, varnish and expensive floor cloth".

Charles Knight, in 1943, wrote "the druggist's plate-glass window exhibits a most profuse array of knick-knacks, not only such as pertain to 'doctors' stuff', but lozenges, perfumery, soda-water powders, etc."

There is also recorded the dilemma of an apothecary (many apothecaries continued to keep a "shop" and to dispense medicines) who purchased a practice in London.

To my surprise I find myself surrounded with all the appliances of trade – coloured bottles, scents, tooth-brushes, small-tooth combs, treacle, etc. I quickly expelled the coloured globes and cut down the retail to a minimum. But what am I to do in competition on all hands with more showy establishments?

By the end of the century the value of the Chemist's window, now of plate glass, was becoming generally accepted. In 1897, however, the *Chemist and Druggist*, in launching a "winter windows" competition, could still comment "There are thousands of chemists ... who could do more business than they do if they were to pay proper attention to their windows".

For storing soft preparations – confections, extracts and ointments – pottery remained generally in use throughout the 19th century, but glass became widely used for liquid galenicals, powders, tablets, etc.

Syrup containers in blue glass came in during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, that colour being also used occasionally for other items, including poisons. Blue poison bottles seem to have been produced in large numbers by the York Glass Company, but green became more generally associated with poison bottles.

By the end of the century the 80-oz. "Winchester quart" was beginning to replace upright storage jars. "Winchester" refers to a bottle shape and is not adjectival for quart. The reason the 80-oz. size came to prevail is probably that it is the largest that can readily be used for lifting and pouring with one hand.

## The Society's Affiliations

BESIDES promoting among British pharmacists the study of their own past, the British Society for the History of Pharmacy is itself a member of two societies having similar or parallel objects. They are:

The British Society for the History of Medicine  
World Union of Historical Societies

A reminder may be given here that the Society has a branch in Scotland, the secretary of which is currently Mr C.G. Drummond, Bo'ness, West Lothian, who has the additional distinction of being the only pharmacist member of the council of the Scottish Society for the History of Medicine.

# A Museum His Monument

*Thomas Daines, an Essex-born pharmacist, and his services to a South African community a century ago.*

THE presentation to the Kaffrarian Museum, King William's Town, South Africa, earlier this year of a diary written during the 1860's reawakens interest in the distinguished career of Thomas Daines as pharmacist at the town's Grey Hospital, 1862–79.

Daines, recorded as being a “talented, efficient and well beloved chemist and dispenser” and “a practical and analytical chemist of the highest ability” (his skill in preparing tinctures and decoctions saved the Government a large sum of money”), took an active interest also in a wide variety of local societies and activities.

In particular he was instrumental in founding a public library in the town and its secretary and treasurer for many years. When, at a later date, the library was incorporated in the Kaffrarian Museum, it was given the name of the Thomas Daines Wing. Among its possessions is now the diary already mentioned, presented to the institution by the diarist's grandson, Mr. G.M. St.Leger Daines.

Thomas Daines was born at Southchurch, Essex, on April 17, 1832, the son of a farmer. At the age of sixteen he was indentured to Mr W.D.H. Lewis, a Middlesex pharmacist, and before the end of his apprenticeship in early 1853 he gained from the Pharmaceutical Society a first prize in botany and certificates of honour in materia medica and chemistry and pharmacy.

Upon qualifying in November 1853 he went to work first for a Mr John Gayleard and later in the pharmacy of Jacob Bell & Sons, Oxford Street, London.

In 1862 he was specially selected by the Pharmaceutical Society, in response to a request from Dr. J.P. Fitzgerald, the Superintendent of Native Hospitals in Kaffraria and the founder, in 1859, of the Grey Hospital (later to be described by Daines as “decidedly the finest building in the colony”) for “a qualified apothecary skilled also in analytical chemistry”. It was also specified that the applicant should be “talented and clever”, but that he should also be “of steady good conduct who will have a love for his profession and who will work steadily and zealously in carrying out the objects of the government”. The salary was to be £150 per annum.

Before his departure to take up the post, Daines applied to Government authorities for new apparatus

and medicine, and for a larger allowance of baggage, but his requests were not granted. Daines had thus to leave with little promise of proper facilities and comfort in an unknown country and to an unknown future.

He left family and friends and, too, the girl who was in due course to become his wife. It was to that lady, Anastasia Warren, born in Suffolk on December 18, 1837, that the diary, its first entry dated June 5 and its last July 25, was in fact addressed.

The actual journey by ship started on June 15, 1862, when Daines left Plymouth on the R.M.S. Dane, reaching Cape Town on July 15 and East London on July 23. The remainder of the journey to King William's Town was by waggon, ending July 25. Annie Warren left about a year later and the marriage took place on October 13, 1863. There were eight children, one of them, Annie Caroline, still living, and now aged ninety-four.

In addition to his pharmaceutical duties at the hospital, Daines proved himself an efficient dentist in King William's Town and also assisted Dr Fitzgerald in training Bantu students for the medical profession.

Within a few months of settling in the town he was giving a course of instruction in singing, with particular reference to congregational music (he had been for four years in London a member of the special choir of St Paul's Cathedral). In 1869 the superintendent, teachers and scholars of the Sunday School of Holy Trinity Church presented him with a book “in acknowledgement of kind endeavours to improve the singing in the School”. An active layman of the Anglican Church in the town, Daines was “virtually the head” of the Trinity Church Union and the cause, it was generally admitted, of the maintained popularity of that recreational institution.

As secretary, at one stage, of the local Temperance Society, he took a special interest in its Temperance Hall, which he rescued from debt and dilapidation. An illuminated address of August 1876, still in possession of the Kaffrarian Museum, was presented to Daines by the Society, together with a microscope, fittings and a slide cabinet.

But it was as secretary and treasurer of the Public Library Committee that Daines rendered his most signal service to the King William's Town community. When he first became associated with it the library was of little value and in debt. “Patiently he laboured month by month until at last we have a flourishing institution and a building which now becomes his monument”.

A large commemorative brass tablet, with a portrait of Thomas Daines above it, was later installed in the old library building, placed there by library subscribers as a token of their esteem for Daines's services. The inscription states, among other things, that “To Mr Daines's persevering and energetic labours this building owes its erection and the Library itself is indebted for the position



it has attained among the public institutions of the colony. Another tribute to Thomas Daines was that he was a true friend to the Bantu. "Rising above all sectarianism he was always ready to help them."

Daines died suddenly on August 13, 1877, the very day on which his youngest daughter was born. His obituary in the *Cape Mercury* records that "The institutions he established, and those he took a prominent part in carrying on, prove that he lived well... In his profession he was an enthusiast. No one could see him hurrying to the hospital without concluding that it was no perfunctory duty he attended to, and the Government will have to go far before a worthy successor can be found. That work done, his life overflowed in kind offices, in religious and philanthropic labours... Mr Daines was one of those rare men who do not know the word failure, and hardly understand what disappointment means...". The funeral was "the largest we have seen in King William's Town, most of the shops and stores being closed".

## Looking Ahead

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY  
IN 1971

HARD-and-fast dates cannot as yet be given for all meetings of the Society planned for 1971, but members would no doubt welcome such details as are available.

In March (probably March 3) there is to be a joint meeting with the History of Medicine section of the Royal Society of Medicine. The subject will be Simon Mason, apothecary, of Cambridge, and the speaker Dr Richard Hunter.

Later in the Spring (April 16–18) there is to be a week-end conference in Newcastle-upon-Tyne at which the subject will be the pharmaceutical and medical history of the North-East, especially during two widely separated periods, on the one hand the period of Roman occupation, as illuminated by modern archaeological researches along Hadrian's Wall; and on the other the Nineteenth Century, when Newcastle came into prominence both for the part played by the city's pharmacists in establishing the British Pharmaceutical Conference and for the proprietary products of its pharmaceutical manufacturers.

During the British Pharmaceutical Conference meeting in Glasgow (September 12–17) one afternoon session will again be given over to pharmaceutical history. Members will no doubt be happy to know that, although the Conference is, by vote of its members in 1970, now the sole responsibility of the Pharmaceutical Society of

Great Britain, the organisation of the afternoon history session has been entrusted to our own Society. The session, on Tuesday afternoon, is expected to be on the same model as the highly successful afternoon in 1970, and the theme is more than likely to have something to do with special aspects of pharmaceutical development north of the Border.

During November there is to be a week-end meeting in Birmingham, at which the subject is to be "Pharmaceutical and Medical Antiques in Wood".

## Some Derbyshire Apothecaries

J.G.L. BURNBY, M.P.S.

*The author was prompted to engage on this historical study by being invited, at a local history class in Sheffield, to inspect the inventory of the Chesterfield Apothecary, Thomas Needham (d.1665), and by "the excellent articles in The Pharmaceutical Journal".*

THOMAS Needham, apothecary in Chesterfield, made his will on March 27, 1665, and was buried two days later. The inventory was exceptionally detailed, being nineteen pages long and in two sections, his household goods and his "trade goods".

Thomas's house consisted of six rooms – the "house", that is to say the general living room; the parlour; the "taverne", which was probably a store-room as it contained a loom, a spinning wheel and four firkins amongst other things; the chamber over the parlour; the garret and the chamber next to the street. The chattels, Needham's purse and apparel were valued by the "Preysor" Richard Stubbings at £45 11s. 2d. Apart from the usual difficulties with handwriting, the use of dialect words such as "hilling" for coverlet presented a problem.

The commodities in the shop were valued at £120 8s. 0d. – probably at least £2,000 in to-day's money. First on the list is 19 lb. of cummin seeds at 8d., followed by "cours liquorice powder, Indeco, Cassia fistularis, Sem. Carui and Anyseed." As might be expected there were numerous vegetable drugs such as Rhubarb, Aloes, Rad. Aristolochia, Gentian, Sarsaparilla, Grana paradisi, Bistort roots, Sem. Agnicasti and white and black Hellebore.

What today we would term groceries and confectionery were also to be found: "marmalad, dried Apricocks, dried peares, candied ginger, elicampane, orange and lemon, comphits, makaroons and marchpane." Such items did not form a large part of Thomas Needham's stock. He did, however, have 30 lb. of 'Virginy' tobacco valued at £3 3s., 27 lb. of best tobacco, 5 lb. Spanish tobacco and an unmentioned quantity of tobacco stalk. Was it all used medicinally?

Drugs of animal origin were few: only sponge, castoreum, cuttle bone, civet, musk, ambergris and extract of bezoar. Of chemicals he had a better selection: "Coperas, vermilion, arsenick, armoniack, sal. vitriol, vertigreize, white lead, aq. fortis, crude antimony" and a number of others. Oils, syrups, spirits, conserves and ointments were numerous and inevitably included half a pound of Theriaca. Lond. 1s. 6d. and Methridate 2 lb. 4 oz. (apoth) at 6s. a pound. There were, too, 6 drachms of Antidotus Hemagog. (value 1s.), which Culpeper called "this fantastical medicine", a not surprising epithet for an electuary that had thirty-seven ingredients, though the College's recipe for Syrupus de Artemisia, of which Thomas Needham had 3 fluid ounces, contained forty-two.

By way of apparatus Needham had two stills, one of pewter and one of lead, a large grater, four funnels, two hammers, mortars and pestles, crucibles, four iron skillets and one of brass, eight pairs of scissors, scales and weights and a scale beam, a three-bit gimblet, an instrument for pressing oil and a tobacco knife and press. It is noteworthy that he had also leeches, two lancets with case, six urinals, four dozen and three clyster pipes and two breast glasses. In a rather different sphere he had twenty-four lb. of gunpowder, 2 lb. of bullets and a pair of bullet moulds.

To whom was this not inconsiderable business left? Thomas buried his first wife Elizabeth in October 1660 and married Anne Bromehead (or Brumhead) at the beginning of the next year. In November 1662 a son, John, was baptised. After asking to be buried as near to the font as was conveniently possible, Thomas left "my only sonne John Needham £20 to put into my Father Bromehead's hand to goe forward for my said son and to be improved for his best profit....." "Also I give unto my said son the tenantright of all that farme at Burbidge in the Parish of Hartington and County of Derby whereon my owne father Needham now liveth". The remainder of his estate he left to his wife.

One of the witnesses of the will was a Peter Needham, possibly a relation. In Chesterfield at that time there was a Peter Needham, a tanner who in 1646 and 1653 became Town Clerk. There was also a nephew Peter who graduated from Oxford in 1663.

At the time of Thomas's death another Thomas Needham was a Burgess and Councillor of Chesterfield and became Mayor in 1666. This Thomas had four sons, of

whom Job was an apothecary in Mansfield. Job may have left Mansfield after the death of his wife Martha, since his name is not to be found in any record later than 1682.

And what happened to "my only sonne John"? From the Needham manuscripts housed in the John Rylands library it was found that his estate had been managed well. For in 1683 he was at Queens College, Oxford, became chaplain to Richard, Earl of Scarborough, then Rector of Bedhampton, Hampshire in 1689 and later Rector of Westbourn, Sussex, where he died.

He never married and when he died in 1741/2 he left £100 to "my cousin Joseph Bromehead of Eckington, Derbys." "£5 to my cousin Robert Flint and one of the silver half pints, a small silver salver and books" "£20 and a large silver cup and cover to my cousin Elizabeth Gardom of Bubnell, Derbys." "£700, my large silver salver and two silver spoons to my cousin Catherine Gardom now living with me". £5 to Mr. John Needham, the elder, £55 to Mr. Gilbert Morewood; and John Morewood, "my cousin now living with me" was made residuary legatee and executor. His servant Mary Roper received £200 and the poor of the parishes of Bedhampton, Storrington, Westborne and Kirdfoot £100.

Not the will of a poor man.

In tracing the career of John it is easy to confuse the trail with that of another John Needham who was also at Queens College in 1683 and who, curiously enough, had a brother, Charles, who was an apothecary in St. Clement Danes, London. The two brothers, however, came from a rather different stratum of society, for these Needhams were entitled to bear a coat of arms, their father John had land at Cole-orton and was a Captain of Horse in Leicestershire after the Restoration, whilst their mother, Faith, was a daughter of a peer of Gloucestershire.

### *Apothecary and Executor*

Yet another Needham led the writer to the small Derbyshire town of Tideswell, which even today seems isolated in the high limestone countryside. Samuel Needham of Great Hucklow made his will on May 29, 1738, only a week after his wife Jane's death, and made his brother Joseph Needham and "his friend William Beech, Apothecary in Tideswell", executors of his will.

First mention of William Beech in the Tideswell parish register is the recorded burial of his son William on August 3, 1719,

William had had a brother James, who died in 1720 and described himself as a yeoman of Litton, a village a bare mile from Tideswell. He was unmarried and he left small sums to friends, his brothers-in-law and his mother and step-father; the remainder was to be divided amongst his three brothers, John of Shaw in Staffordshire, Thomas in Litton and William of Tideswell. His goods and chattels

were appraised at £57 0s. 5d. Amongst the hemp, flax, pipes, clogs, besoms and buckles were raisins, currants, coriander seeds, diapente and cloves, all probably obtained from brother William.

In the 1759's and 60's there are three John Beechs mentioned in the Parish register. One of the three, John Beech, Surgeon and Apothecary, married to Elizabeth, was probably the son of Thomas and one wonders if he worked with his Uncle William. One of the John Beechs exchanged the land called the Little Green Low for the Little Dog Hillocks with Richard Hack in about 1752, and in 1785 possibly the same John was taxed seven shillings on his land at nearby Wormhill.

Old William died in 1763 and the bulk of his estate at Tideswell and Ipstones, Staffordshire, was divided between his son John, his grandchildren John, William, Mary and Hannah Beech, his daughter Mary Binks and another daughter Ann who had married Robert Dexter, an officer of Excise. His daughter Elizabeth had married the Reverend John Goddard in 1753 and had received a handsome marriage settlement.

Who were William Beech's professional colleagues and competitors in Tideswell? In 1720 there was a Samuel Slater, an apothecary who, after baptising Elizabeth and Hellen and burying Jonathan (1725) and Mary (1731), infants of six months and thirteen months, does not appear again. In the year of William's death (1763) a Richard Haigh, apothecary, appeared on the scene. Richard and his wife Marina baptised six children in Tideswell and buried five there, but four – Elizabeth, Sarah, Ann and Mary – were still living when the Haighs in turn disappeared in 1779. Then for four years the town had Robert and Ann Flintoff, he being described as both surgeon and apothecary. For Ann these were years of tragedy. First her children Elizabeth and Robert were buried, then in May 1788 her husband, and finally three months later her son Thomas. She must then have left the, for her, luckless town with her eighteen-month-old daughter Mary.

During these years there were in Tideswell at least three surgeons: Henry Markland, James Condliff and John Milne. The last two died within two years of each other in 1753 and 1755. James Condliff left no will, and his wife Mary was granted letters of administration at Bakewell. His inventory of "Goods, Cattles and Chattels was appraised at £32: of which his purse and apparel were £5, his horse £4, the hay and corn £2 10s. and the utensils and drugs in the shop £10. His home consisted of a house-place (living-room), chamber over the house, chamber over the shop and a garret. John Milne was unmarried and left everything to his brother Richard, an officer of Excise. Was he perhaps a colleague of Ann Beech's husband, Robert Dexter? One of the witnesses of John Milne's will was Edward Markland who was Vicar at Tideswell for forty-one years. It is very probable that our third surgeon, Henry Markland, was

related to the Vicar. Henry lived in Tideswell for at least thirty-two years, where he died in 1781, outliving his wife Margaret by only six months. Their daughter Elizabeth did not marry and went on living there after her parents' death.

Bakewell, which lies rather less than ten miles away from Tideswell, is an attractive town and pharmaceutically most interesting. Bakewell's apothecary in the early 1700's was William Bossley, of whom mention is made by the Overseers to the Poor Accounts.

March	4, 1702	Paid to Mr. Bossley for things given to Richard Eaton	2s.
April	11, 1704*	Paid to Mr. Bossley his pills for Joseph Fernally	£1. 7s. 6d.
	1705	Paid Mr. Bossley upon Thos. Powner's Account	5s.
July	18, 1709	Paid to Mr. Bossley for phisic for Anne Punchaby	10d.

Bossley also supplied the churchwardens with oil for the bells, and had been a churchwarden himself since at least 1691, the year in which he and his wife Elizabeth baptised their daughter, Mary. After Mary came four sons, William, Thomas, John and Joseph, who all survived the rigours of eighteenth-century childhood. The family was rounded off with three more daughters, Dorothy, Elizabeth and Ann. Only one of the daughters was destined to reach adulthood, for Mary died about the time William was born and Dorothy and Ann died within four days of each other in the spring of 1713, probably from some epidemic such as diphtheria or measles which caused such havoc amongst children in those days. William's family was only young when he died in 1714, a son, William, being the eldest at twenty-one and the youngest, Joseph, twelve.

Bossley left £16 per annum to his loving wife Elizabeth for her natural life, and £150 to each of his four younger children, Elizabeth, Thomas, John and Joseph, to be paid to them when they reached twenty-one. The residue of the estate was left to young William, who was made sole executor.

Two years previously at the age of fifteen, Thomas had been apprenticed to William Birds, a chandler of Bakewell, for six years and three months, his father having paid £20.

William senior's inventory is valued at £396 3s., a not insignificant figure. Included in this sum was £20 in cash in a chest and £229 owing to him on bond, Mr. John Roe of Smalldale owing upon bond as much as £120. It would seem that William Bossley was engaged in money-lending, as were many prosperous shopkeepers and traders in the days before the rise of the banks. It is not surprising that William followed in his father's footsteps as an apothecary..

his home had a "house", a buttery, a pantry, a kitchen, three chambers and two garrets, besides two closets, a passage used for storing "some piggins (a small pail or tub generally of wood) and other small matters" and the shop itself. He possessed such luxuries as a clock and a map, fourteen silver spoons, brass ladles and bottles, and in the little closet were his library and several mathematical instruments. He had also a horse and saddle and cow with her calf. "The counters, boxes, bottles, potts, drawers, druggs and all materialls for or belonging to his trade in the shop or elsewhere" were worth £80.

William's family obviously were not going to be left in penury.

The following year young William entered into matrimony. He married Mary Barker, who belonged to a locally well known family and who had some money in her own right. Old Mrs. Bossley died just three weeks after her first grandchild, yet another William, was born. The young apothecary, however, was not fated to live long. He died in 1720 at the early age of twenty-seven, leaving a widow and two small sons. He left £150 to his two younger brothers, John and Joseph, when they reached twenty-one as ordered in his father's will and £200 to his younger son, Thomas. The remainder of the estate was then equally divided between his wife and his elder son, his wife's share reverting to her son on her death.

This latest William Bossley deserted the art of the apothecary to become a mercer — though in actual fact there may not have been so much difference between the two businesses. William the mercer married in 1741 another of the Barker family, Deborah, who came from nearby Edensor. It is possible that she was a relation of Richard and Catherine Barker, whose memorial in the church tells us that their son Richard was a surgeon in far off London in the 1760's. Like his apothecary grandfather, William became a churchwarden and on the inside cover of the Churchwardens' Account book is a note to the effect that two of the back seats, one on the north side and one on the south, are the property of Mr. William Bossley in 1751.

William and Deborah had nine children, of whom seven survived their father. The two girls received £250 each and the five sons shared the remainder of the estate, except that Alexander, who was made executor with his mother, had an extra £200. Deborah was to have £30 per annum for life, plus William's "best bed-stead with the bedding and all furniture there to belonging and also all the other furniture in the Chamber where the best bed now stands or may stand at the time of my decease." This William was obviously a careful man with a love of detail.

Living in Bakewell during much of the period of the Bossleys was the family of Denman, who were to become famous on the national field. John Denman was an apothecary in Bakewell, and probably took over much of young William Bossley's practice on his early death. In the

autumn of 1711 John Farrer senior, of Mansfield, apothecary, took on a new apprentice for seven years, a John Denman, for which he received £40 from the father, Thomas Denman senior of Beavercotes, Nottinghamshire. The two John Denmans were probably one and the same.

When he died in 1752, John Denman was by no means as rich as the Bossleys. He left an annuity to his wife Elizabeth (who had belonged to the well known Bakewell family of Buxton) of £5 per annum and "the furniture of any one room in my dwelling house which she shall choose and fix upon." His daughters Sarah, Hannah and Mary were to receive £50 each when they became twenty-five and likewise son Thomas received £100 if he attained the same age. Joseph was to have a "close, piece or parcel of land or ground situate in Clarbrough in the County of Nottingham," plus the shop goods, book debts, cattle, chattels, ready money and money at interest, bonds, etc. Thomas Denman's inventory of goods in his "house", parlour, shop, three chambers, garret and brewhouse (where were a still, a tub, six barrels and a worm) were valued at £188 15s. Money due upon bond and book debts came to £80 and the shop drugs and medicines to £60. Like the earlier William Bossley he had a horse, which was worth six guineas.

Joseph became a physician in Bakewell and was for many years a magistrate. Thomas, also a physician, went to London, where he earned a great reputation for himself in obstetrics. John and his wife Elizabeth were buried beneath an altar tomb just East of the chancel, but in 1815 Thomas had his father moved into the chancel, to the left of the altar and erected a mural tablet. Although he highly praised both his father and his brother he omitted any reference to his own eminence. The omission was rectified in June 1933, when the British Obstetricians placed a commemorative plaque for the bicentenary of Thomas Denman's birth. Thomas's son, another Thomas, became Chief Justice of England in 1832.

### Sources

Parish Registers, Tideswell, Mansfield, Bakewell.  
The Jackson Collection, Chesterfield Library.  
The Needham Collection, John Rylands Library.  
The Wolley Mss., British Museum.

## In a Local Museum

### A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

SIR, In response to the request in your journal for information about items of pharmaceutical interest in local museums, the Keeper of Greenwich Borough Museum had, I remember, a bell mortar and an attractive blue and white pap boat. I believe also that there is a stained glass window at the church of St John the Baptist, Penshurst, showing some pharmaceutical items, though I have not seen it. — OLIVE E. BRACKENBURY, London, S.E.3. *Thank you, Miss Brackenbury. We hope your letter will prompt others to write in.*